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Women and the Structure of Society

Selected research from the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women

Edited by
Barbara J. Harris *and*
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To our Foremothers,
who founded the Berkshire
Conference of Women Historians
half a century ago.

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General Introduction

Human beings create societies by imposing order upon their relationships with one another and their environment and assigning meaning to their experience. The result is a structure that consists of the fundamental rules and boundaries regulating the activities of each individual. This structure embodies a series of concepts that name, classify and order people.

Despite enormous differences in detail, every culture uses the biological difference between women and men to classify individuals and assign them social roles. Stereotypes reinforce this framework with theories of the innate differences between women and men in appearance, capacity, intelligence, and emotional characteristics. These differences are emphasized and accentuated by the socialization of individuals to adopt appropriate dress, manners, and education. Finally, a gender-based division of labor is one of the universal characteristics of human society.

Because interpretations of reality inevitably reflect the perspective and interests of the observer, the power involved in creating these concepts is enormous. Imposing order on human life and the human environment invariably includes evaluating the worth of different individuals or groups and their activities and, often, arranging them into hierarchies as well. Furthermore, once a conceptual structure is articulated and accepted as accurate, it exerts pressure on people to conform to it on both the individual and social levels.

It is, therefore, of the utmost significance that throughout human history men have had far greater power than women to name, classify, and order the worlds in which they both live. It is still unclear why this is so, but the result has been a persistent denigration of women and their activities. Male perception of women as "The Other" has not been balanced by reciprocal dialogue. Instead it has been reinforced by the establishment of more or less intensive systems of female subordination. Diverse social structures and supporting ideologies created by men confine as well as define women by restricting them to roles and activities described as feminine. Women frequently find themselves in the painful position of trying to conform to life-cycle patterns and roles that do not reflect their own talents and inclinations. If they fail, or refuse, they are relegated to the margins of a society that cannot recognize their existence.

Not only does male control of the descriptive and prescriptive process of socialization distort female behavior and attitudes, but it also tends to transform women into a powerless and inarticulate group. Women lose both the ability to shape their destinies and to voice their discontent. At the same time their silence permits men to ignore those female activities and achievements that do not conform to dominant values and accepted social definitions. Male descriptions of what women are doing and thinking are, therefore, unlikely to be accurate.

Or, they may be all too accurate, where women have had little choice but to do as they have been told.

The problem of understanding women's experience in the past and in contemporary societies is compounded by the monopoly that men have exercised over scholarship throughout most of our history. Men have interpreted social patterns on the basis of male observations and the work of other male scholars. Indeed, to some extent, the universal pattern of female subordination and social marginality may be an illusion created by the fact that we still see women predominantly through men's eyes.

In March 1973 the First Berkshire Conference on the History of Women met at Douglass College to bring together feminist historians committed to the project of integrating women into history and looking at the past from women's point of view. About 500 people gathered to attend a dozen panels. Subsequently, Mary Hartman and Lois Banner published an anthology of some of the papers delivered at the conference in a volume appropriately entitled *Clio's Consciousness Raised.* Nine years later, some 1,500 scholars attended the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women at Vassar College to participate in a program that included 135 panels and workshops. Our volume contains a small sampling of the many excellent papers delivered at the Vassar meeting.

The main purpose of *Clio's Consciousness Raised* was "to place women within their social context." A number of the essays used hitherto neglected sources to uncover the real lives of women in the past. Others explored the ways in which dominant myths and received opinions about women's nature and roles influenced the behavior of both women and men. The Hartman and Banner volume was both influential and popular. It played an important role in demolishing the old masculinist history.

A decade of exciting and innovative work on the history of women followed the publication of *Clio's Consciousness Raised.* Increasingly, feminist historians recognized that understanding their past involved more than placing women in a social context already conceptualized by generations of male scholars. They had to revise their whole vision of history in order to include the social spaces in which women lived and carried out their most significant activities. They also perceived that, by and large, women existed outside of and apart from the structure that defined and dominated their societies. Therefore, feminist historians increasingly studied the complex ways in which women accommodated to, manipulated, modified, and rebelled against the structure that ignored or oppressed them.

The papers in this collection support and illustrate this perspective on women's history. The essays in part 1, "Defined by the Structure," show how male-created institutions and ideologies in four different societies ignored, confined, or misrepresented female lives. Part 2, "Adapting the Structure," focuses on women from three cultures who adapted the conventional female roles of mother, daughter, and holy woman to pursue activities normally outside their sphere. They consciously accepted the limitations imposed on them, but in practice

redefined the roles they were filling. On the other hand, the four groups of women discussed in part 3, "Eroding the Structure," changed the meaning of womanhood in their cultures and reached across existing barriers between women of different classes, races, and nationalities. They did so, however, without articulating a new conceptual structure for defining a new place for women in society. Although they were often on the brink of criticizing and rejecting male dominance, they never actually did so. Instead, they disguised the full significance of what they were doing by explaining their activities in ideological terms acceptable to their contemporaries. This tactic allowed them to flow across the boundaries that normally confined female lives without openly attacking the established institutional structure. The nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century American women who appear in part 4, "Articulating a New Structure," had far more radical intentions. They openly acknowledged that they wanted to redefine women's social position and articulated a genuinely feminist program. Indeed, Ellen Dubois argues that Elizabeth Cady Stanton sought to eliminate gender entirely as a classificatory agent. Because these women were concerned with fundamental issues of power, they emphasized the necessity of cooperation among all women to achieve their goals. Paradoxically, their dialogues with each other both insisted on female solidarity and exposed the ways in which religious and class differences actually divided women. Finally, the papers in part 5, "Confronting the Old Structure," focus on women in four different societies who engaged in radical or revolutionary political activity aimed at transforming gender relations in their cultures and restructuring the lives of both women and men.

As all of these papers show, interpreting women's history in terms of their complex interaction with the structure that defines and orders their lives provides a stimulating framework for the work of feminist historians. This approach has the advantage of recognizing both women's subordinate status and their successful efforts to evade and redraw the boundaries defining their lives. Despite their relative lack of power, some women in every society insisted on the right to a degree of autonomy in choosing their roles and activities. Like Boydena Wilson's Muslim women in the classical period, they were forever appearing in unexpected places, doing unexpected things.

The grand achievement of work on women's history in the past decade has been to rescue women from the oblivion to which traditional scholarship consigned them, and to demonstrate that women are subjects as well as objects in the long story of the human past. The Berkshire Conferences on the History of Women have played a major role in stimulating and publicizing this research. We are, therefore, particularly proud to present a selection from the papers delivered at the fifth of these conferences.

Barbara Harris *and* JoAnn McNamara

New York, March 1984

I. Defined by the Structure

Introduction

The chapters in this section illustrate the ways in which conceptual structures created by men define women's lives and try to force them into conformity with those definitions. The first paper, by Boydena Wilson, uses city ordinances to explore the urban world of classical Islam. The clear intention of these codes was to exclude women from public life by enclosing them physically in their homes and hiding them behind veils and keeping them in silence in public places. Wilson's evidence shows that women continually defied these regulations by expressing their own identities through female networks and independent, if illicit, activities. She reveals a vibrant world in which women literally climbed over walls and ran across rooftops to find one another, a world created by women that spread from ordinary homes to the fringes of the criminal underground.

Jean Friedman's essay demonstrates that the structure of evangelical churches in the antebellum American South operated in similar ways to isolate women within their families and control their behavior. Unlike their more urbanized northern sisters, southern women were unable to form a church-based network that expanded their sphere and increased their social power, a failure that Friedman convincingly attributes to the pattern of settlement and stage of economic development. On the positive side, she notes how important kin relationships were to women as sources of affection and support in times of crisis. Joel Rosenthal makes a similar observation about the role of kin in the lives of aristocratic women in medieval England. Like Friedman, Gwen Gampel focuses on the ways in which the social structure oppressed women in the early American South. She demonstrates conclusively that equity courts in seventeenth-century Maryland failed to ameliorate the common-law disabilities of wives who had the legal status of *femes coverts* ("covered women"). Contrary to Mary Beard's assertion that equity played a significant role in improving women's legal position, Gampel's examination of specific cases that brought women into the proprietor's court proves over and over that women were powerless against the system in this kind of direct confrontation. What is most compelling about her analysis is the way in which she connects the irrelevance of equity to women's whole economic, political, and familial position. Even in this extremely disadvantageous situation, many women achieved significant social mobility through marriage. They began life as indentured servants at the bottom of the social scale and ended with enough property to warrant legal action for its protection.

Joel Rosenthal's study of aristocratic widows in medieval England is concerned less with the ways in which the structure of society oppressed women than with ways that standard perceptions of a normal life cycle failed to account adequately for their experiences. Women did not progress through the predictable age-connected life cycle of men, particularly where widowhood fell on them randomly, at any age, and disrupted the emotional networks as well as the social

and economic context of their lives. Widows had a good deal of control over whether or not they remarried, and therefore exercised some power in moving from one family connection to another. Their wills show how complicated their kin networks became because of multiple marriages and how personal affection gave their bequests an unpredictable quality. This was in marked contrast to the wills of men, which reveal a high degree of conformity to structured obligations imposed by the recognized claims of lineage.

Together, these essays illustrate different facets of the experiences of women living within societies ordered and dominated by men. Law and custom obliterated their identities, excluded them from male patterns of life, and forced them to create their own patterns in extremely restricted circumstances. Women were both resourceful and imaginative in shaping their lives to conform to their own images and broadening the spheres allotted to them. But, as all these chapters show, the effort to gain autonomy required a persistent struggle against dominant ideological and social structures. Despite their status and power, medieval dowagers were perceived only as nuisances, whose longevity interrupted the passage of wealth from one man to another, while planters' wives in colonial Maryland and urban women in classical Islam were hardly expected to exist at all—one was covered, the other veiled.

1. Glimpses of Muslim Urban Women in Classical Islam

Boydena R. Wilson

Most studies of Muslim women in classical Islam[1] deal either directly or tangentially with women's legal status. Typical of these studies are those exploring aspects of women in Malikite law (one of the four Sunni legal schools) or women in Islamic law (*Shariʿa*), particularly as these relate to the maternal relationship, to marriage, and, as one might expect, to divorce.[2] These studies paint an image of Muslim women as secluded and, therefore, as "protected" from society, as venturing into the world outside of the home only when attired properly and accompanied by an appropriate[3] male escort. The value of these studies is considerable, but because they have focused on women as portrayed in the law, they have tended to show us an ideal order of society, not the society in which people actually lived. The historian who seeks evidence of the living realities for Muslim women of the classical era is forced to turn elsewhere.

In seeking to avoid the static quality of the "*Qur'ān*-and-woman" or "Islamic-law-and-female" approaches cited above, I have turned to another genre of legalistic literature—the *ḥisba* manuals. This evidence, though fragmentary, affords the historian some insight into the activities of Muslim urban women, some of whom refused to comply with society's efforts to seclude them. Indeed, this literature suggests that insofar as some urban women were concerned, the secluded Muslim woman was a myth.

These collections of regulations guided an urban official, the *muḥtasib*,[4] in preserving morals and prohibiting reprehensible acts in Muslim cities. As an inspector of acts that were committed in public—for he was not empowered to go behind closed doors—this official legally made everyone's business his business. Appointed by the caliph or the caliph's surrogate, the *muḥtasib* was empowered to be certain that the inhabitants of the city, both Muslim and non-Muslim, complied with Islamic law.

The *ḥisba* manuals are grounded in Islamic law. Few of these are extant and most stem from North Africa and Spain.[5] In most cases they contain both theoretical and practical advice. The theoretical sections of these works are devoted generally to descriptions of the ideal *muḥtasib*; whereas the practical segments describe, at times quite graphically, those specific practices that must be banned by the *muḥtasib*. These directives regulate, for example, artisans and merchants, street maintenance, the building of houses, pharmaceutical formulas, preparation of the dead for burial, and the type of grave in which the body is to be deposited. Essentially collections of "don'ts," these manuals reflect the realities of Muslim urban society. Via the admonitions to females in these collections,

we gain an insight into those activities of Muslim urban women that run counter to Islamic Law.

That the mere presence of a female would incite men to desire her is a constant refrain in the *ḥisba* manuals. Visits to cemeteries and ceremonies bewailing the dead are no exceptions. "Women should not gather in cemeteries and other public places; for such gatherings result in a kind of display which might lead to sinful attractions and acts," declares al-ʿUqbani of fourteenth-century Tlemcen. He continues: "They display themselves to young men who pass them by [which] leads to temptations and sin. Sometimes people construct private places in cemeteries where women can stay freely without being seen by male visitors." He explains, however, that these private places are "ineffective" because everybody is "curious" and "anxious" to see the women who are gathered there. Thus, the temptation to look and watch these women is more "available and exciting."[6]

"Prevent them from lamenting their dead!" echo others. "Women have no reward for following a bier," warns al-Ukhuwwa of fourteenth-century Egypt. He assures us, however, that weeping—silent weeping unaccompanied by loud shrieks, rending garments, or beating the cheeks—is permissible. Women might follow the bier if they avoid mingling with the men and walk behind them. But females must be prevented from visiting the graves. Admonishing women who worked as professional mourners, he declares: "Mourning women, singers, and other depraved characters shall be banished from the town if they exercise their profession."[7] With this ʿUmar al-Jarsifi of thirteenth-century Spain concurs. He adds that this ban applies to all young women, for they have a "tendency to wear attire forbidden by religion."[8]

Indeed, the *muḥtasib* did have reason for grievance: the occasions appear to have been frequent when "honest" women, as opposed to the prostitutes who plied their trade among the graves, gathered to weep in common. Slapping their faces, tearing their clothes, invading the streets unveiled, and playing tambourines and lutes, they bemoaned the dead while, as the *ḥisba* manuals tell us, "evil-intentioned" men gathered watching.[9] Perhaps, however, a note of wry finality on this issue is given by the legist Yahya b. ʿUmar of ninth-century Qayrawan, who raises the question in the style of some *ḥisba* manuals:

> I asked Yahya b. ʿUmar about a dead man's wife, mother or sister going out to the cemetery to attend the burial along with some neighbors. I also asked him about a widow that would visit her husband's grave everyday. Then, when in the cemetery, she would start screaming and wailing with her women companions. Do you think that they should be told to leave and not go out again or what? Said Yahya: "I am not convinced of [the merits of] women going out to the cemetery in the first place."[10]

If they did not go to the cemetery for gatherings, then they went to the public baths (*ḥammamāt*). Whether it was to a public bath that was restricted to

women only, on women's day, or during a period that was set aside for them in the afternoon,[11] Muslim women used this site as another place for frolicking with their friends and evading the laws that sought to seclude them.

Indeed, Islam's laws of hygiene and the demand for the ritual purification of the believer made the public bath a prominent feature of most Muslim cities. Tenth-century Baghdad is said to have had twenty-seven thousand public baths and Cordoba five to six thousand. Although one must allow for some element of exaggeration in these figures, it has been calculated that one public bath existed for every fifty inhabitants in tenth-century Baghdad and one for every eighty persons in ninth-century Qayrawan.[12] Although owned privately and run at a considerable profit, the public baths were regulated strictly by the *muḥtasib.* Regulations controlled the standards for temperatures, humidity, and the precise chemical compositions of all mixtures that were used; the physical appearance of all attendants, including a ban against their eating onions or garlic while on duty; the instruments of barbers and hairdressers; the types of rinds, pomegranate peels, to be used by the masseuse;[13] and, fortunately for social historians, the women who used the facilities.

Women were to come to the public bath only for general health and postpartum cleansing.[14] In an effort to prevent females from entering the baths for mere recreation or for fornication, as the sources are wont to charge,[15] the bath owner was ordered not to allow any woman into the bath for reasons other than health.[16] It does appear, however, that Muslim women went to the baths for other reasons.

At least one *muḥtasib,* al-ʿUqbani, raises the issue of females bathing along with other females. The question is asked: "Should the bath be emptied or should the woman, brought there by her husband because of her illness or for postpartum cleansing, bathe in front of other women?" One shaykh answers: "A woman should be bathing privately." "Even if she covered her body as do most men in public baths?" he is asked again. An answer is given: "Even so, she should bathe privately because the whole body of a woman is considered private and it is sinful to look at and there is no approval for her to show her body to other women or to undress in front of other women."[17] In the same corollary, another shaykh declares: "If a woman is seen naked by another strange woman, it is considered [as if the latter were] a strange man. . . . Thus, a woman should either bathe privately or bathe with a person who is lawfully allowed to look at or see her body, e.g., a mother, a grandmother, a daughter, or a husband, etc."[18]

The anxiety regarding females gazing upon the nude bodies of other women, a concern evidenced by the *muḥtasib* above, appears not to have been totally unfounded. Lesbianism, strictly forbidden in Islamic law, makes its appearance in the *ḥisba* manuals. In a section entitled "Sexual Contact between Women," al-ʿUqbani states:

> [There are] especially corrupt women who look at each other's sexual parts in order to initiate sexual contact between themselves which some of them

> prefer or find more pleasurable than with a man. . . . If a woman is known to have these tendencies, she should not be allowed to go out. The people who are taking care of such a girl, either parents or others, should always keep an eye on her behavior. If she repeats her acts, she should be tied by her feet, locked up at home and never allowed to go out. . . . As to whether such people should go to jail or be punished at home by their parents, the latter is preferable.[19]

Giving us an insight into the techniques of the Muslim lesbian, he adds: "When those with vaginas wear leather devices shaped like the male sexual organ, these will be cursed and damned by God."[20]

That the *muḥtasib*'s apprehension of female homosexuals did not prevent women from congregating with other women is evident from the sewing and spinning circles (sg. *tawīza*) that existed. They gathered in a friend's home even if getting there entailed climbing the walls that separated one house from another and going from terrace to terrace, as women frequently did in fourteenth-century Fez.[21] In these groups they sewed, spun, and exchanged news of their private lives. Indeed, it was this mutual exchange among women that raised the ire of the *muḥtasib*. One maintained that these gatherings, "whether for sewing or gossiping, might bring problems for husbands and cause newly married women to revolt and disobey their husbands. It might encourage younger women to go out without their husband's knowledge or flee their homes altogether; thus ruining the family structure and subjecting themselves to various sinful temptations."[22]

It is also evident that these gatherings were not always solely of women. "It happens," one official tells us, "that in our society, women gather in a party or a salon, then form a circle in the middle of which is a man who sings. Such behavior should be banned and the person responsible for organizing such a party should be punished. Such a person will also be damned and condemned by God."[23]

God's condemnation, at least in the opinion of the *muḥtasib*, would fall not only upon those women who gathered for social occasions but also upon women who congregated for economic purposes. I have already noted that women filled the occupation of professional mourner. They also served as corpse washers (sg. *al-ghāsila*) of deceased females, a task mandated by Islamic law. Both occupations occasionally entailed difficulties for the female practitioner. Indeed, one ninth-century police chief of al-Fayyum ordered homosexuals, bisexuals, and professional mourners imprisoned, with an additional stipulation prohibiting the practices of darkening the face with *nīla*, the indigo plant, and cutting the hair—both signs of women in mourning.[24] Similarly, the female corpse washer often found herself attacked with physical and verbal abuse upon her arrival to prepare the corpse for burial. In a lengthy description of the preparation of the corpse, the thirteenth-century Maghrebin author Ibn al-Hajj devotes four lines to a description of the abuse heaped upon this female. The writer's advice to her: "Conceal yourself!"[25] Whether or not she heeded his advice is not indicated.

There were, nevertheless, countless other Muslim women who did not hide themselves. Female merchants, artisans, and consumers in general gave the *muḥtasib* many an anxious moment. In a corollary to the law entitled "Concerning Women Sitting in Shops and Workshops Chatting with Workers" al-ʿUqbani tells us: "[This sitting around] includes women waiting in workshops for something to be repaired and delivered to them (shoes, bags, dresses, etc.) or women [who are] merely hanging around for long periods of time in a shop talking and joking with the workers or salespersons. To make things worse, some women put on perfume and wear provocative dresses when going out shopping. These misdeeds should all be avoided."[26]

In a similar light, a *muḥtasib* of tenth-century Spain, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ra'uf, warns not to use women in the sale of thread but to employ only old men who are "worthy of trust . . . to whom honesty is known and [who will practice] discretion which they have evidenced in the frequency of women there, in the talk that they hold, and in the commercial dealings that they have with them." He declares further:

> It is urged that women have a place designated where they might gather in order to sell that which they have spun. It must not be possible for them to gather in the shops. It is not necessary in any manner and in any case that a young man or all other men who are amorous to buy from them, for the Prophet . . . said: "Separate the breaths of the men and the women." He who, of either category enumerated, appears before women in order to sell or buy, when it is forbidden to him, will be flogged and expelled from the market.[27]

Such attempts to prevent women full access to the marketplace fell short of the goal. In rejecting efforts to exclude and silence them, Muslim women used ingenious methods of being seen and heard. Among such techniques was the practice of wearing shoes that squeaked. We see this ruse evident in a chapter entitled "On Prohibiting Women from Wearing Slippers with Heels that Produce a Certain Noise." The legist Yahya b. ʿUmar of ninth-century Qayrawan is questioned:

> Should the makers of such slippers and shoes be ordered to stop their production since a woman wearing such slippers and walking in a public place or a mall could attract the attention of men who, in turn, would look at her feet, then subsequently at her legs, thus initiating in them a sexual desire? . . . Should a woman be prohibited from wearing such slippers and, if she wears them deliberately to attract men, should she be punished or forced to take them off? Yahya said: "a woman should not wear such attractive slippers; however, she should be notified about this the first time. If she disregards the first notice, she should be forced to take them off and the pair of slippers should be torn apart. In addition, I believe that such a woman must also be punished."[28]

At the turn of the fifteenth century, the *muḥtasib* Ibn Bassam adds: "Shoe-

makers, especially when making women's slippers, should not use paper or cardboard. [This will] prevent the slippers from producing a noticeable noise when a woman is walking; this will prevent men from noticing her."[29]

Women should not be heard. Women must not be seen. Added to these maxims was another: separate the "honest" from the "dishonest" woman—the respectable female from the whore. Although Islamic law prohibited prostitution, the practice did exist within Muslim urban centers. Moreover, the degree to which it flourished or was suppressed frequently depended upon the preferences of the incumbent ruler or his surrogate. Tenth-century Cordoba possessed its "house of the tax" (*dār al kharāj*); the public brothel was so designated because it was taxed by the authorities.[30] The thirteenth-century Mamluk sultans, Qutuz (1259–60) and Baybars I (1260–77), limited rather than banned the trade; the former closed the port of Alexandria to foreign prostitutes, the latter banned prostitution in Cairo and Old Cairo.[31] Not surprisingly, one sees in Mamluk Egypt a tax (*ḍāminat al-maghānī*) levied on singers, as the name indicates, but extended to include prostitutes also. The whores, like their singing sisters, paid for the right to practice their trade without molestation. Indeed, the prostitutes' fear of their inability to pay the tax collector (male or female, for both held the office) sometimes prompted them to attack strangers who were passing their quarters. Fear of punishment by the tax collector frequently motivated whores to take such drastic actions as holding for ransom a man who did not partake of her services and not releasing him until after payment.[32]

Perhaps in order to thwart the prostitutes' techniques of luring customers, Muhammad b. ʿAbdun of twelfth-century Seville ordered them not to bare their heads outside of public houses.[33] He was equally concerned, however, that respectable women not be mistaken for whores. Stressing differences in attire and mannerisms between the whore and the respectable female, he declared: "Honest women must not dress in the manner resembling them. It is necessary to forbid coquettish techniques when they are among them and from organizing gatherings for recreation if they do not have the authorization of their husbands."[34]

The same official was concerned also with the lower cadre of whore—the streetwalker. Fully aware of the various sites frequented by this saleswoman—notably, cemeteries and marketplaces—he spoke to her potential clients: "Only men of good faith and recognized honesty can mix with women for commercial transactions. The members of the corporations must be on the lookout to apply this rule. It is absolutely necessary to prohibit access to the market by women of the embroidered textile [i.e., veil] for they are all women of evil life."[35]

These "women of evil life" had another Muslim sister who also lived on the fringes of urban society: the female criminal.[36] An account left to us by al-Saqati, *muḥtasib* of early thirteenth-century Malaga, gives a glimpse of a female accomplice in a standard "confidence" game:

> The slave merchants use ingenious women, gifted with remarkable beauty, who know the Romance tongue and how to dress like Christians. When a

> client, who is not of that city, comes to ask a merchant for a beautiful slave-girl who is recently imported from Christian countries, the merchant promises him that he will find her quickly and fill the order. In order to increase the client's anxiety, the merchant sends him away. Finally, he presents the buyer with a girl, assuring him that she is exhausted from her journey for she has only recently been brought from the north. At the same time, the merchant is assured of the cooperation of a confederate who pretends to be the owner of the slave and who is to receive the money. The client buys the slave in the major market . . . and thus pays dearly. He is enraptured by the fact that his is a rare commodity—a recently imported slave of which he can boast. When the market closes, the two confederates divide the money with the "slave." She follows the buyer to his home. If she is satisfied with the deal, she profits from the situation . . . by asking her new owner to free her and marry her. If she does not like the situation, she reveals her status as a free woman and produces documentary evidence of her free status to the officials. The buyer then goes back with his bill of sale to the slave merchant. The merchant, however, pretending that he does not know where the former owner lives, says merely: "I am well known as a buyer and an importer of Christians and other slaves." All the efforts of the duped buyer are in vain. He has lost his money.[37]

To al-Saqati's account I add the obvious: "And a female has played a vital role in bilking the buyer." Her participation in the swindle has earned her a place in the *ḥisba* manuals. She thus joins a diverse group of Muslim urban women who resisted the demands of Islamic legists that they efface and obliterate themselves.

From Egypt west into Muslim Spain, the women within this essay have been lifted from the pages of *ḥisba* manuals, the collections of advice by and/or for the *muḥtasib*, the city's keeper of morals and prohibitor of reprehensible acts. These women frequented cemeteries; they mourned in the streets, shrieking, with darkened faces, ripped clothing, and shorn heads; they met in public baths to wash and to fornicate; they engaged in homosexual acts; they congregated in private homes to spin and to gossip; they sold their bodies and bilked an unwary public; their shoes squeaked through malls; and their veils slipped from their faces. These accounts, though mere glimpses, serve to illustrate that, insofar as urban centers were concerned, there were Muslin women who did not remain hidden behind the latticework projecting windows (sg. *mushrabīyya*) and closed doors of their homes. The *ḥisba* manuals, via a succession of admonitions, serve to challenge the traditional thesis of the secluded Muslim woman within classical Islamic society. Indeed, Muslim urban women, according to these accounts, defied the system's efforts to keep them silent and invisible.

2. Piety and Kin: The Limits of Antebellum Southern Women's Reform

Jean E. Friedman

Women's reform emerged only gradually in the South, decades behind the northern women's movement, because familial and religious institutions in this rural, evangelical society precluded women's associations. Economic and settlement patterns encouraged a homogeneous society that resisted sexual segregation in favor of a family-centered, neighborhood social system. In addition, evangelical church discipline, which supported the familial ideology, insured a virtual sex-role orthodoxy in the South.

In the North, women's reform advanced along with the economic and social transformations of the middle period. The economy sustained economic growth in agriculture, commerce, and banking, and fostered increased urbanization and industrialization. The social by-products of modernization included decreased fertility, marked class stratification, political democratization, and, most significant, the domestication of women.[1] The cult of domesticity appeared as a direct response to modernization, that is, separation of work roles in the industrialized society relegated women to the home. However, according to recent historical scholarship, sexual segregation in northern evangelical culture also provided opportunity for women's associations—prayer groups, missionary societies, and benevolent organizations—that ultimately challenged patriarchal control.[2] While one author traced the origin of a New England women's culture to the forces of modernization, others found that women's voluntary associations arose out of complex urban demands.[3] Such female associations demonstrated women's creative reaction to a repressive social system. These conclusions, however, are based upon studies of northern women only, and recent analysis of northern, urban patterns of association and reform does not readily transfer to the evangelical discipline in the rural-town economy of the Old South.

A recent study by Donald Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, superimposes Smith-Rosenberg's analysis of homosocial networks onto southern evangelical culture and therefore concludes that its sexually dichotomized culture led to profound changes in social and sexual roles.[4] Yet the fact remains that southern women did not establish an organized reform movement until the postbellum era, nor were voluntary associations generally supported until the 1870s and 1880s,[5] largely because economic modernization in the South, with its attendant women's culture, was itself a postwar phenomenon. In a preindustrial society such as the South, development was not marked by rapid economic growth so much as it was by gradual self-sufficiency. Consequently, considerations of

southern women's roles must take into account rural isolation that made larger families an economic necessity and encouraged the formation of family and neighborhood kinship ties as the primary affective bond.[6]

In the South, mutual dependence between the sexes was reinforced by the agrarian partnership in which women shared economic production with men and assumed dual work roles in the household and field. Women's work, so essential to the farm, substituted for servant labor in the field and household. On servantless farms men expected women to help in the field. And without women's household labor men would have been forced to sacrifice time needed in cultivation and harvesting.[7] This partnership was as much a product of gradual southern self-sufficiency as it was a consequence of the lack of an integrated regional market system.

The scarcity of railroads and waterways in the interior precluded development of an integrated market system and instead fostered yeomanry. Although regional specialization developed around the successful production of cash crops, most farms diversified their output. Generally, livestock and corn provided the food supply on southern farms.[8] Men and women therefore could depend upon their own productivity for subsistence. The necessity of such self-sufficiency can be seen also in the sheer isolation of these farms. Farmers were limited to trading with neighbors except in small market towns. Highly developed market systems existed only on the rim of the South, in the port cities of Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and Mobile. Scattered railways linked the food supply of some country areas with nearby cities. In areas dominated by cotton production, however, the planters controlled the trade system and ignored the backcountry exchange.[9]

Without the effect of modernization, a key requisite for the development of a woman's culture, sexual segregation was less likely to occur in the South, and southern self-sufficiency deterred modernization. Low population density and availability of land practically guaranteed farm ownership, thus making migration to urban areas less attractive. Furthermore, the growth of cities traditionally depended upon a cheap labor supply, but the South had a longer growing season, and the wages of agrarian workers were relatively high. In order to attract rural labor, urban employers were then forced to pay "a transfer wage that exceeded the value of urban labor's marginal product." Thus the expansion of southern urban centers was frustrated by the lack of a marginal labor force.[10]

The state of the southern economy, a result of rural isolation, distance from markets, and the availability of slave and family laborers, placed a premium on women's labor, both black and white. Throughout the major part of the nineteenth century, semifrontier conditions prevailed in the interior. Women, mostly black slaves, provided heavy labor for ploughing and planting. In addition, women were responsible for the full complement of household manufacture, since few spinning and fulling mills existed in the South. The cottage industry added to women's duties, although women were already burdened by the domestic chores of cooking, cleaning, dairying, minding children, and tending the

garden. The contribution of rural women to household maintenance, with the exception of candle making, brewing, hunting, and the rounding up and slaughtering of cattle, had not appreciably changed since the colonial period.[11] Hence, because the South continued what was essentially an older agrarian and family-oriented structural pattern, homosocial networks did not evolve and therefore southern antebellum women were deprived of a social basis for reform.

In this context, the institution of the church was of fundamental social significance. Family and kinship bonds, drawn tightly together in the local evangelical church, assumed primary importance in defining human relationships. The evangelical church subscribed to a vision of families united in eternity; thus, its members were disciplined to maintain strict sexual roles as a means of stabilizing the earthly family. The nature of pioneer settlement determined the evangelical social system. Church congregations or families and friends united as a community, migrated to new areas of settlement in the South. Thereafter, families identified with a church in a particular region or town. Moreover, chain migration, or the settlement of individuals in areas where members of their family had established a homestead, encouraged a neighborhood kin network.[12] For example, in the late eighteenth century Scotch Presbyterian John Cameron, Sr., took up holdings in the Cape Fear delta of the Upper and Lower Little Rivers. In the next decade, his brother and various other kin entered the area along with members of the McNeill family. The Camerons and McNeills intermarried and, united by a common faith and land holdings, the families eventually controlled the delta region. As the community expanded, the settlers founded the Cypress Presbyterian Church in which the leading male members of the Cameron and McNeill families acted as elders and deacons for generations.[13] Male hierarchies, then, controlled both the property and the churches in the southern evangelical community.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown suggests that nineteenth-century southern culture was more family-centered, particularistic, and ascriptive than in other regions of the United States. In the South people valued family connections more than education or professional skill. At the summit of the social hierarchy, a patriarchy claimed complex land-owning dynasties. Family and property defined power; therefore, family loyalty buttressed the social system and in turn provided the most powerful basis of self-identity.[14]

The kin networks and the church discipline that maintained them in the preindustrial South influenced women's role in two ways: (1) the development of stable family systems rooted women in neighborhood kinship networks that discouraged the formation of independent women's networks; (2) male control of evangelical family churches insured a double standard of church discipline that reinforced traditional sexual roles and deterred formation of independent women's organizations.

Southern settlement patterns, the importance of dynastic ties, and the influence of family-centered evangelical churches established family relationships as primary and friendships as secondary. In one illustrative instance, when a woman,

Louisa Norwood, gave birth, her sister Laura tended her along with other relatives in the town of Hillsborough, North Carolina. Although the women of Hillsborough offered to help, the sisters refused "strangers'" assistance.[15] In correspondence it is clear that the most vital friendships among southern women were with kin. Martha Foster Crawford confided her anxiety about cousin Lou to her diary. She wrote that Lou's marriage "would not be half so bad if she could live in the neighborhood, and by degrees cool my ardent confiding love into a common friendship, by the waning light of her own."[16] In health or financial crises, southerners relied more on kin, less on friends or neighbors. Mrs. Sarah B. Evans, who managed a plantation in Louisiana, regularly lent money to relations or took in kin who had no means of support.[17] In the South kinship was the vital connection, the difference between isolation and security.

The church reinforced the bonds of kinship, especially since the kindred chain often extended into an entire geographical region. Some kin may have traveled across several counties for a Sunday service,[18] for the church acted as a social center where families and friends visited, gossiped, and discussed business. Furthermore, evangelical churches linked scattered kin by idealizing heavenly reunion. Eternity literally hinged upon the sacred union of the kindred elect; the families who were members of the church were assured of rising together on the last day.[19] Moreover, conversion was a family affair. At church or campground the "mourner" or potential convert suffered through the rite of passage most often in the company of family.[20] Lastly, church covenants expressed their articles of faith in familial terms. The elect of the Beaver Dam Baptist Church promised to "watch over families under our care," a serious responsibility that implied the exercise of discipline.[21]

Church trials and hearings operated as the chief instrument of church discipline. Although northern churches abandoned the practice of control over private sexual activity in the early 1830s,[22] the use of church trials persisted until much later in the South. Although the number of trials declined on the eve of the Civil War and were suspended almost entirely during the war, the practice has continued into the twentieth century. Such surveillance of behavior maintained strict definition of sexual roles by enforcing a double standard of discipline.

Men managed church trials. The moderators or elders were male and they appointed committees of men to investigate rumors or complaints brought against a member. On rare occasions the church hierarchy appointed committees of women to question a female defendant, but more often women faced male investigators. Male elders presented the case to the congregation or, in the Presbyterian church, to the board of elders, after which the subject testified. Occasionally in the Presbyterian church, the accused appealed the elders' decision to the congregation. In Methodist and Baptist churches, congregations debated, discussed, and voted upon the case. Only in the more lay-oriented churches, such as the Primitive Baptist church, did women have a vote.[23] However, in those churches where women might have had the vote, the quorum was

Table 2.1. Disciplinary action by sex (Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1830–1889)

	Male	Female
Not subject to disciplinary action	65% (112)	80% (137)
Subject to disciplinary action	35% (60)	20% (34)
Total	100% (172)	100% (171)

Source: Mount Olive Baptist Church, Alamance County, North Carolina, Minutes, 1830–89, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

Table 2.2. Multiple charges by sex (Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1830–1889)

	Male	Female
Not multiple charges	67% (33)	94% (29)
Multiple charges	33% (16)	6% (2)
Total	100% (49)	100% (31)

Source: Mount Olive Baptist Church, Alamance County, North Carolina, Minutes, 1830–89, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

Table 2.3. Type of punishment by sex (Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1830–1889)

	Male	Female
No punishment	13% (8)	9% (3)
Forgiveness	20% (12)	6% (2)
Suspension	2% (1)	0%
Exclusion	65% (39)	85% (27)
Total	100% (60)	100% (32)

Source: Mount Olive Baptist Church, Alamance County, North Carolina, Minutes, 1830–89, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

determined by the presence of male members; judgment by female peers was offset by a guarantee of a male presence and authority.[24]

There are a few indications, however, that women challenged church leadership. In the Pleasant Union Christian Church and the Broad Run Baptist Church of Virginia, women were among the dissident groups that withdrew from the churches.[25] Refusal to support a congregation's verdict remained the most common reason for church divisions. Nonetheless, in stable churches, male management prevailed and thus insured female deference to its authority. Consequently, a double standard existed in the exercise of church discipline.

In the pattern of cases brought before the Mount Olive Baptist Church in

Table 2.4. Type of offense by sex (Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1830–1889)

	Male	Female
Dancing, drinking, swearing, absence	89% (16)	11% (2)
Lying, selling spirits	100% (1)	0%
Disorderly conduct	74% (28)	26% (10)
Adultery, fornication, abortion, illegitimacy, desertion	29% (2)	71% (5)
Joining other sects	33% (7)	67% (14)

Source: Mount Olive Baptist Church, Alamance County, North Carolina, Minutes, 1830–89, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

Table 2.5. Restoration by sex (Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1830–1889)

	Male	Female
Not restored	87% (49)	94% (33)
Restored	13% (7)	6% (2)
Total	100% (56)	100% (35)

Source: Mount Olive Baptist Church, Alamance County, North Carolina, Minutes, 1830–89, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

Alamance County, North Carolina, the elders used two sets of values to judge their peers: one for women and another for men. Of those subject to disciplinary action, the majority were male (table 2.1), and men were accused more often than women of multiple charges (table 2.2). But men were apparently expected to fail, such expectations presupposing leniency with regard to men. More men than women escaped punishment and men were more often forgiven than women. Elders tended to exclude more women than men from the church, which suggests that although men were more often charged than women, a woman once charged was more likely to suffer the full consequences of church discipline (table 2.3).

Women were also charged more often with serious sexual offenses such as adultery, abortion, fornication, and illegitimacy, while their male counterparts were more likely to be charged with lesser offenses—drinking, dancing, and disorderly conduct. Women may have been accused of sexual offenses more often because abortion and illegitimacy were included in this category. Nonetheless, there was a tendency to hold women responsible for sexual offenses more often than men (table 2.4).

With regard to sentencing and punishment the church's response to women was much more severe than to men. In the Mount Olive Baptist Church more than twice as many men as women were restored (table 2.5); that is, once a period of time elapsed after conviction, the case could be reconsidered. Contri-

tion and amendment of one's life brought forgiveness by the church and reinstatement followed. Punishment was more often revoked in the case of male petitioners. Few women petitioned for restoration; perhaps they lacked confidence that they would be forgiven, feeling that their offense was great and their punishment deserved.

The rigid definition of sexual roles offered women only traditional responsibilities within the church. Nevertheless, such opportunities allowed women to develop managerial skills. Women exercised those skills in functions related to their role in the evangelical family culture. Women were Sunday school teachers, supervisors, and administrators of infant schools and orphanages. Women's ad hoc working societies raised money for church projects by sewing, holding fairs, and selling their domestic handicrafts. Solicitation for the church was also considered women's responsibility. However, the disposition of the funds was entirely in the hands of the male trustees in conjunction with the male members of the congregation.[26]

Women's involvement in charity management did not lay the foundation for reform. Without women's networks, independent groups allied to reform had no chance to emerge. The male-dominated church and the kin-oriented society interfered with the development of separate women's groups within the church structure. Religious association in the antebellum South followed either a sexually integrated or a male-segregated pattern. Prayer groups were mixed. Evangelicals resisted female prayer groups. Only after two years of effort was Martha Foster Crawford able to recruit other wives of southern missionaries into a female prayer group. The women thought it improper. Fanny Moore Bumpas, wife of a minister, reported scant attendance at her prayer meetings.[27]

Methodist classes joined men and women; women's classes were uncommon. In the Methodists' mixed classes intense discussions took place of a personal spiritual nature. The class leader was always male. How uncomfortable that was for women who might have expressed dissatisfaction with their religious, familial, or marital role was painfully expressed by Ella Thomas: "There are thoughts, doubts, suggestions which present themselves to my mind. If I could only *talk of them*. I think of our class leaders but there is in old Mr Mann no appreciation of the trials of a woman's nature."[28] Ella Thomas truly longed for a woman's understanding as she added to her criticism of Mr. Mann, "Perhaps Mrs. Mann would understand."[29] When Mrs. Thomas consulted with her husband on religious matters, she found little satisfaction. She recorded in her diary: "I dont think Mr. Thomas understands or is interested in my struggles and trials. He listens some times. . . . Listens, but that is all."[30] Spiritually isolated, Ella Thomas searched for something to fill the vacuum of religious companionship. She wanted desperately to read a narrative of a heroic woman, one "who has 'suffered and grown strong.'" Or, she commented sadly, she wished she were "under the influence of pious women."[31]

Southern antebellum women, however, did not form pious or benevolent associations. In Georgia temperance groups were male associations, although

women attended lectures and signed temperance petitions. Scattered evidence exists of women's missionary societies; however, the Domestic Missionary Society of the Athens First Presbyterian Church was wholly male.[32] Due to evangelical influence, southern antebellum associations never moved beyond the primary integrated stage, thus lessening women's awareness of traditional restraints and precluding the possibility of women's associations.

The southern evangelical community, strengthened by neighborhood kinship networks and the exercise of evangelical discipline, effectively limited women's roles to the domestic and familial. Scholars must appreciate the vast isolation of the southern frontier, which enabled the evangelical community to operate with such intensity and purpose. Although the community offered security and preserved social ties, it also maintained behavioral control.

The southern women's reform movement arose gradually along with changes in the economy. Reform, the product of New South "modernization," fostered the organization of church groups in the late nineteenth century, loosened evangelical discipline, and allowed a rational impersonal order to develop that necessitated greater dependence upon nonkin.

3. The Planter's Wife Revisited: Women, Equity Law, and the Chancery Court in Seventeenth-century Maryland

Gwen Victor Gampel

Men have traditionally fashioned legal systems placing women in subordinate positions. In England the tyranny of the legal structure became so oppressive that men developed an ancillary system, as Mary Beard pointed out in *Woman as Force in History*. Beard did not doubt that English common law denied married women basic property and contract rights accorded single women and all men. She did, however, firmly believe that English equity law enabled women to circumvent these common-law impediments to take independent action through the creation of separate estates for married women in trusts and marriage contracts. A corollary argument was that chancery, the court in which equity law was adjudicated, facilitated and expanded equitable options open to married women to the point of permitting *femes covert* (married women) to possess all the rights of *femes sole* (single women) under certain circumstances.[1]

But the problem with this argument is that it looked only at the theory of the law and not at how it actually functioned. In fact, the majority of women's lives existed outside and apart from the structure of equity law, and because equity chose to ignore the reality of married life, it did not prove to be an emancipating system. Others have criticized Beard for her simplistic interpretation of equity law.[2] To date, however, those studies have focused on the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With few exceptions they have, like Beard, neglected to evaluate the trust and marriage agreements written by American women or to pay attention to the earlier chancery court records. So far no one has gone back to the seventeenth-century records and systematically studied whether and in what ways equity law and courts having jurisdiction in such matters aided early American women. To do this, it is necessary to start at the beginning and ask the following questions: Did women write marriage agreements in seventeenth-century colonial America reserving the right to separate equitable estates? If so, did they also make contracts and mortgages or devise property based on this proprietary capacity? How about postnuptial agreements for the same purposes? Would or did the chancery court function in ways to facilitate or expand married women's equitable rights in the colonies? If equity law did not function to emancipate married women, were social, economic, or political considerations the reasons for the negation of equitable relief? These and other questions need to be addressed if we are to understand the evolution of colonial women's legal status as they moved into the national period.

Admittedly, this is a difficult task because of all the colonies only Maryland established an independent chancery court prior to the Protestant revolution of 1688. In Virginia the general court handled equity matters and in New England the elective assemblies and common law courts dealt with some equitable issues. For a variety of reasons the other colonies did not create equity courts before the last decade of the seventeenth century. As a result we have great difficulty studying the effects of colonial equity law on women in the seventeenth century.[3]

To the extent that we can begin to analyze this relationship, seventeenth-century Maryland is a suitable test case. This Chesapeake colony had a working chancery court for a significant number of years. Also, its records can be compared with English chancery decisions in at least a limited sense because the procedures in the two courts were very similar. Furthermore, this essay assumes that the potential and actual use of equity law and the chancery court can only be understood within the context of the society in which it functioned, and Maryland's early society is increasingly well documented.[4]

Recent scholarly work and this analysis of equitable instruments and the Maryland Chancery Court records indicate that the context in which the planter's wife and widow lived nullified to a very great extent the potential and actual equitable mitigation of *feme covert* common-law disabilities. The social and demographic circumstances of early Maryland, the basically one-crop economic system, and the proprietary nature of the government for most of the century converged to prevent Chesapeake women from enjoying anything like the equal legal status some authors have believed possible through equity. This study will deal mainly with the period from 1660 to the end of the century because of the small number of women living in the colony and the paucity of chancery cases prior to this date.

Before examining colonial Maryland, it is necessary to consider the progress married women had made in creating separate estates in England and how chancery decisions helped expand their property and contractual capacities during the seventeenth century. According to Sir William Holdsworth, by the end of the sixteenth century women of the upper classes and their relatives were increasingly dissatisfied with the incapacity of married women to own personal property and manage the real property they brought to their marriages. There is evidence from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of a growing tendency to employ trust agreements in which property was conveyed to a third party trustee for the benefit of a married woman to modify the disabilities.[5] These trusts were written into antenuptial and postnuptial agreements and parents' wills. The antenuptial contract was normally written by parents of women marrying for the first time or by the couple themselves when they had previously been married. The postnuptial agreement, of course, was drawn up by the couple and a trustee after marriage, and specified, like the antenuptial contract, what rights the married woman would have over her separate property. The options open to her ranged from nothing more than a life interest in the property after her

husband died to complete control over the trust property during marriage, which meant among other things the right to take the profits or rents for her separate use, to convey, mortgage, or lease the property, to make contracts based on the property and to devise it in her will. Testamentary trusts contained in parents' wills could also provide for these contingencies. The designation of *feme sole* trader (a married woman who conducted business as if she were single), a common-law custom, was yet another means to circumvent *feme covert* financial impediments. It was customarily employed by married women in business.

In a happy convergence of societal desire and court sensitivity, the chancery facilitated women's access to means of control over property. No one case established a firm precedent in this formative period. Yet the court's accommodation can be seen in such cases as *Avenant* v. *Kitchin* (1582) in which chancery agreed to sustain a marriage contract that allowed a woman to convey property devised to her, without interference from her husband.[6] In other early developments chancery permitted a married woman to exercise control over her separate estate with rights to enter into binding contracts under limited circumstances (1582), to devise her separate property (1594), to offer it as a present to her spouse (1614), and to make a conveyance of the equitable property to others (1619). By the end of the seventeenth century women who had acquired equitable estates were entitled to contract, mortgage, and devise their property just as they could prior to marriage. In terms of procedural arrangements, *femes covert* were viewed as capable of acting as independent persons in legal proceedings before chancery. Further, they were permitted to sue and be sued as a consequence of their proprietary status.[7]

Lastly, when a marriage broke down, a woman could obtain a separation agreement to regain control over her property. Divorce *a vinculo* (divorce dissolving the marriage), releasing the parties wholly from their matrimonial obligations, was extremely difficult to obtain in late seventeenth-century England. As a result, when a marriage broke down, the couple usually sought a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (legal separation) from the ecclesiastical court and received a separation agreement. By this process the parties were separated and forbidden to live or cohabit together but were left with all of their other marital rights and duties, including the *feme covert* financial disabilities. During the seventeenth century the chancery court acquired jurisdiction to uphold the separation agreements obtained in the ecclesiastical court. In addition, chancery came to decree maintenance for the wife if the husband was at fault for the estrangement.[8] Chancery also established by the 1660s that the estate a wife gained as a result of the separation agreement was to be considered her separate property, which she could dispose of as she pleased. In other words, she was freed from *feme covert* property and contractual disabilities.[9]

In another fortuitous development the political controversies surrounding the prerogative nature of the equity court were resolved with the restoration of Charles II in 1660, and the court emerged with renewed power and prestige. Then, with the appointment of Chancellor Nottingham (1673–1682) and his

insistence on the importance of precedent, married women's equitable rights were placed on a firm footing as the century ended.[10] Needless to say, this brief sketch is an oversimplification of a much more complex story and only women of the propertied classes benefited from these developments. Yet the chancery court's receptiveness to mitigating *feme covert* proprietary disabilities was a significant event.

In Maryland a very different set of social and economic circumstances prevailed that profoundly affected equitable developments. Unlike England, early Maryland had no class of wealthy women. Instead, for much of the seventeenth century the vast majority of those coming to the colony emigrated from England as "middling" to lower-class unmarried indentured servants. After four or five years their term of service was completed. Once at liberty to marry, they quickly became planter's wives almost to a woman because of the tremendous sex imbalance during this century.[11] Aside from their small numbers, however, the formerly indentured women had no sources of power that would give them the leverage to secure the creation of beneficial separate estates. The lack of desirable economic options if they remained single, and the fact that roughly a third were pregnant prior to marriage, placed them at a distinct disadvantage if they tried to bargain for separate estates before marriage. More to the point, they were from the poorer classes of England and therefore lacked the knowledge and dowry required to make such advantageous marriage agreements.[12] Nor were these women in a position to benefit from the creation of trusts. The absence of parents and relatives to place property in the hands of third party trustees for their use precluded this possibility, which was at least potentially open to a significant number of women in England.[13] In any event, existing archives have yielded no evidence of a separate estate created for a single formerly indentured woman.

Although the circumstances of British-born women appear to have obviated the awareness or economic likelihood of writing equitable estate agreements, was this also the case for native-born women marrying for the first time? The answer seems to be yes, based upon both the number and kinds of contracts found.[14] Premarital pregnancy and the absence of desirable alternatives to marriage militated against the creation of separate estates by these women also. The youthful age at which they married, not uncommonly at or around sixteen, probably contributed to their lack of sophistication and the knowledge required to plan for an independent status.[15] However, it would seem that the low level of economic development during the seventeenth century and parental attitudes were the most important factors. It has been estimated that as late as 1699, 72 percent of the economy was made up of small planters, who rarely owned servants or slaves, lived in one-room houses, and enjoyed incomes of less than £100 sterling a year. Most of their property was in livestock, tools, bedding, and household utensils, whether they owned their own lands or were leaseholders.[16] These men were obviously incapable of settling property on their daughters.

Lacking a large dowry, the planter's daughter could not expect to receive a jointure for her use after the marriage. Likewise, few men in Maryland would have had sufficient means to settle such estates upon the women they married.[17]

Yet even among the affluent, parents rarely thought in terms of creating separate estates for their daughters by antenuptial agreements or testamentary trusts. The dearth of contracts would argue for the supposition that even wealthy fathers in Maryland expected sons-in-law to provide for daughters during the marriage. In the few antenuptial settlements negotiated by parents, the terms simply created jointures furnishing a maintenance for daughters only after their husbands died.[18]

The trusts established by fathers' wills lend further proof for this interpretation. Fathers were understandably anxious to provide for their children, given the fact that in seventeenth-century Maryland a child had approximately one chance in two of spending part of its childhood in the household of a stepfather or guardian.[19] Although Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh found that most men provided life interests in land for their wives and then expected them to support their minor children, a few men did create testamentary trusts for daughters.[20] A preliminary survey of these trusts indicates they were established to prevent the "wasting" of estates or to maintain daughters during their minority. Once they came of age, trustees or guardians were expected to turn over the estate to the adult daughter or, more accurately, her husband. Even if she married before the trust expired, it was still expected that the husband would gain possession of the equitable property. The Hatton decision of the chancery court in 1675 proves this. John Price had created a trust for his daughter Ann, which she was to enjoy at the age of eighteen. However, she married at sixteen. When the trustees of the estate refused to relinquish control, the couple sued, claiming that Richard Hatton (the husband), "who are of years of discreccon sufficient to manage his owne estate," should gain possession. The court agreed and so ordered it.[21]

By the nineteenth century the Maryland Chancery Court "maintained that any man who sued in equity for the property of his wife was morally obliged to settle a part or all of it on her as a separate estate." In *Helm* v. *Franciscus* (1818), the chancery remarked that equity assumed the "place of a parent" and therefore "required a settlement upon the wife, upon the presumption that it demand no more than would have been insisted on by a prudent father."[22] However, "prudent fathers" in seventeenth-century Maryland did not think to provide separate estates when they settled property on daughters in their wills. Instead they thought in terms of preventing stepfathers and guardians from misusing the estate until the daughters came of age. Fathers' normal practice may explain why Maryland's chancery in this early period did not require Richard Hatton, or others in similar instances, to establish a separate estate for the wife. Although there is a clear statement in *Doyley* v. *Perful* (1673) that "since Queen Elizabeth's time it hath been the constant course of this court [chancery] to set aside and frustrate all incumbrances and acts of the husband upon the trust in the

wife's term,"[23] it is possible that the practice had not become well enough established in England to have set a precedent for the Maryland Chancery Court.

In summary, while equity law potentially provided avenues for independent legal action by married women, several factors inhibited and prevented the utilization of this legal system. Certainly the economic and social conditions of life, the lack of parental guidance and desire, or in most cases ability, to create separate estates for daughters and wives hindered the use of equity law. Then the failure of the chancery court to deem separate estates a requirement by husbands who sought possession of their wives' equitable property all but precluded the possibility of the planter's wife from enjoying a proprietary capacity under equity.

So far only the factors surrounding first marriages have been considered. Did the situation change when Maryland women contemplated marriage for a second or third time? While these women's circumstances had changed markedly, few took advantage of their improved situation to provide for equitable estates on remarriage. Almost invariably the planter's wife outlived her husband and was usually left responsible for two or three minor children. Bereft of her own and her husband's kin, who most likely were either still in England or dead, and physically separated from neighbors (because Maryland had no towns or villages to speak of), the planter's widow was left to her own resources to raise her children and tobacco crop.[24] Given this scenario, it is little wonder that she invariably remarried and usually did so with what we would today consider indecent haste. The county, provincial, and orphan's court records indicate that widows not infrequently remarried within days or weeks of spouses' deaths.[25] For some, such hasty remarriages, amid the grief and disruption caused by the death of a spouse, must have precluded any thought of such legal considerations as marriage agreements and trusts.

Yet this can only be a partial explanation. Given the sex imbalance and the pattern of bequests that left widows in control of significant amounts of property, one might hazard the guess that the planter's widow was in a most favorable position to bargain for a separate estate. Mary Beard, for example, assumed this would be the case.[26] The Maryland experience, however, does not support her belief that such an economic position would result in favorable contracts prior to remarriage. According to Carr and Walsh, although the planter's widow brought to a second marriage at the minimum a dower right and sometimes all of her husband's property, few reserved for themselves equitable estates. Why the paucity of separate estates in such cases? For some, the seemingly endless litigation over debts owed by deceased husbands must have posed a roadblock.[27] Then too, the amount of property involved was still small by the standards of the richer English gentry. More important, these women, who arrived as indigent indentured servants, did not possess the background or tradition to think in terms of a proprietary capacity for themselves or their daughters. Most likely, the absence of relatives to provide advice was also a factor.

It has been maintained that the dearth of attorneys was one reason that so few equitable estates were created. Yet this does not seem particularly relevant in Maryland, except for the first three decades. In the period 1660 to 1680 there were twelve attorneys at law practicing regularly before the chancery court, and nine who handled a few cases each. The records of the court indicate these men had a sophisticated understanding of equity law. Two of the men, in fact, had been trained in England at the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn.[28] Evidence of technically correct agreements drawn up in the colony also argues for their competence. While twenty-one lawyers seems a small number to meet the needs of an entire colony, demand for legal services was in fact so limited that almost every one of them had to supplement his income by working at a second occupation because few could make a living simply practicing law. Neither ignorance on the part of the bar nor the paucity of attorneys, then, seems to have affected the potential number of separate estates.[29]

Quite possibly lack of desire was the single most important reason why widows did not think of circumventing the disabilities placed on married women. The few antenuptial agreements that prefaced a second marriage lend credence to this view. In them women showed far greater concern for their children's welfare than they did for themselves.[30] Only two examples of marriage contracts by widows have been found in which they sought to retain control of property for their exclusive benefit during their lives.

One antenuptial agreement, created either by a widow or a single woman, is truly remarkable. As recorded in the provincial court session of 1669, this contract between Margaret Preston and William Berry reads in part as follows:

> Articles of Agreement made and agreed upon betweene William Berry of the one part and Margaret Preston both of Patuxent River in the County of Calvert of the other part, Witnesseth that the above-said Margaret Preston and William Berry have fully and perfectly concluded, and agreed that the said Margaret doth reserve for her owne proper use and behoof before she doth ingage her self in marriage to the said William Berry the vallue of One hundred pounds sterling to be at her the said Margarets owne disposall in such goods as shall be hereafter mentioned: vizt,
>
> Plate to the vallue and worth of forty pounds sterling.
>
> The little Negro Girle called sarah borne in Richard Prestons house, vallued to Tenn pounds sterling, if the said Girle should dy, the said William Berry to make the same good to the said Margaret by another Negro or the vallue.
>
> A good mare to ride on vallue seaven pounds sterling.
>
> A Chamber or Roome to be well furnished with bedding and furniture with other household stuffe to the vallue of forty three pounds sterling.[31]

If Berry died first, the goods or the value were to remain for Margaret's own proper use. This was to be over and above her proportion of the estate that Berry might leave by his will.[32] Translating this agreement into more modern terms,

with household help, a horse, and money to spend, Margaret Preston Berry sought to protect herself from becoming a household drudge! Clearly, the Preston case shows the legal possibility of an independent estate via equity law existed for women in early Maryland, as in England. Yet some students of women's legal status have used marriage contracts such as Margaret Preston's to prove that colonial women were, in one historian's words, "striking at the very basis of the *feme covert* concept of wifely subordination before the law."[33] While in truth we will in all likelihood never know the total number of antenuptial agreements made in seventeenth-century Maryland, the evidence so far suggests that the number of Chesapeake women thinking of circumventing their common-law proprietary disabilities is statistically insignificant. Instead, even those women with the estates, knowledge, and foresight to execute some sort of prenuptial agreement thought almost exclusively in terms of providing for their heirs rather than creating an independent estate for themselves.

While the planter's wife rarely made use of a marriage contract to obtain a proprietary status, could she or did she avail herself of English equity's provision for postnuptial agreements? In this type of contract the husband granted the wife a separate proprietary or contractual right, or both, over property settled upon her. Under English equity law a *feme covert* could join in such a postnuptial agreement under two circumstances. Either the relevant property was placed in the hands of trustees, or support could be sought directly from the husband as part of a legal separation agreement, obtained in the ecclesiastical court and enforced by chancery.[34] No evidence of the former appears in the Maryland court or legislative records surveyed. Whether the procedure was simply unknown and therefore not used cannot be ascertained at this time.

A few Maryland women in the seventeenth century did obtain separation agreements from the council and the courts, despite the failure of Lord Baltimore and the legislature to establish the judiciary's jurisdiction over them.[35] Divorce was not possible in Maryland. Usually if a couple could not or would not live together, one party would simply abscond, leaving the other in legal limbo. However, in Maryland six couples did seek and receive sanctioned separations from the courts. Yet it should be noted that when women sought to live apart from husbands, they did not seek to overcome their common-law disabilities as they did in England. Instead, the purpose of the few separation agreements was to obtain separate maintenance (alimony). Only Elizabeth Martin, before the Kent County Court in 1659, renounced all claims to her husband's estate and acquired the right to "sell let or Exchang or Convert" the possessions she brought into the marriage "to her use."[36] It appears from the cases that neither the Maryland courts nor married women wished to expand *feme covert* proprietary or contractual rights by means of separation agreements. Alternatively, it might be that none of the other women was fortunate enough to have sufficient property to disclaim maintenance and seek an independent status. In any case, it appears that women suffered more from legal separation than men

because the court's decrees of separation did not extinguish the *feme covert* common-law financial disabilities.

As a result, separated women were very much at the mercy of their husbands. When an estranged spouse did refuse to support his wife, the provincial court, acting as an appeals court in *Galwaith* v. *Galwaith* (1689), agreed that no court had jurisdiction to require a husband to provide for his wife.[37] Even after this case, Maryland's legislature did not make provisions for such contingencies in the seventeenth century. County courts, out of sheer community need, did continue to hear a limited number of separation cases, even though they lacked jurisdiction. It is obvious that Englishwomen were far better protected, first because a single court, the ecclesiastical court, had been given jurisdiction in such matters and routinely granted maintenance. Further, in England the chancery enforced these judgments. It even went so far as to decree maintenance if the ecclesiastical court had not, in the event that the wife had left the husband through the latter's fault. Of even greater importance, chancery came to argue that the property acquired in a separation agreement was to be considered the wife's own to dispose of as she pleased.[38]

Women in England were able to obtain a separate estate and thus a proprietary and contractual capacity in one other manner. This was the designation of *feme sole* trader under common-law jurisdiction. By the custom of London and other English communities, a married woman was allowed to trade on her own account, independently of her husband, so that with respect to her trade she was in the same legal position as the single woman. In seventeenth-century England, with and without statutory provision, married women engaged in a wide range of trades and occupations. Evidence of their contract and debt suits has been found in the London Session Papers.[39] Research into seventeenth-century New York court records by Elizabeth Dexter and myself indicates that in some colonies married women did avail themselves of the *feme sole* trader designation, even when the colony, as in New York's case, had not enacted a statute specifically allowing for this capacity.[40]

In Maryland the situation proved otherwise. To begin with, the proprietary did not look favorably upon *feme covert* business activity and went so far as to decree in 1658 that no husband was to appoint his wife agent or allow her to represent him in court; instead, men were requested to appoint other men in their absence.[41] Needless to say, provision was not made for *feme sole* trader status. Yet, by what must have been informal agreement, a significant number of married women practiced some form of medicine as doctors, nurses, and midwives, and covenanted for their fees. Aside from these women, there is very little evidence of married women behaving in a manner that would suggest *feme sole* trader activity. Rare exceptions are two married women running "ordinaries" in late seventeenth-century Prince George County. When it became necessary to sue for debts owed, female medical practitioners had their spouses bring suit.[42] In any event, it is likely that few Maryland women felt the need to become *feme sole* traders in the frontier period because the nature of the tobacco-oriented

economy all but precluded the further development of women or men in specialized economic roles. In this sense pioneer conditions in a colony could not be said to have enhanced married women's legal status.

At the same time, there is little or no evidence that the frontier nature of society encouraged informal and less technically correct equity proceedings in the Maryland Chancery Court. This point is significant because of the frequent assumption that the seventeenth-century colonial courts adhered less to English forms and colonial women benefited as a result.[43] This is not the case in the Maryland Chancery Court. Indeed, from the inception of the colony, Lord Baltimore sought to recreate the complex and highly technical nature of the English Chancery Court, and to a surprisingly large degree, he succeeded. Carroll T. Bond, an attorney and former chief judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, found that "departures and modifications in adapting to the needs of the colonists were relatively slight, and it remains substantially correct to say that proceedings in the provincial Chancery were identical in form with proceedings of the home country."[44] Adherence was made possible by requiring that the rules of the English Chancery Court be on hand for reference. Baltimore's demand that those who petitioned the court be represented by counsel and his refusal to allow any but attorneys at law to practice before the court undoubtedly aided this process.[45]

Thus, in reviewing the Maryland Chancery Court records from 1660 to 1700, there is no proof that married women received extraordinary treatment in terms of procedural matters. Instead, when a *feme covert* plaintiff or defendant filed suit, she was joined with her husband in the cause of action. There are no examples of Chesapeake married women bringing complaints in their own names, even though equity law was beginning to allow for such action in England by the mid-seventeenth century.[46] The absence of independent complaints by married women in Maryland probably resulted from the relative paucity of circumstances in which such activity would have been allowed under English equity law rather than a failure to adhere to equity procedure in Maryland.

The net result of all these considerations is, of course, that the chancery court records are very disappointing where women are concerned in terms of content, issues raised, and decisions rendered. Instead of petitions, much of the record contains activity by the chancellor in his "ordinary" capacity as keeper of the Great Seal; none of this business had any bearing on the treatment of women. Furthermore, very few complaints and petitions brought before the court involved women and not one sought to utilize equity law in ways that would have enhanced married women's legal status. For example, in the records for 1669 to 1679, ninety-six cases came before the court, of which seven named husbands and wives as complainants.[47] Although one concerned a trust established for a daughter (*Hatton* v. *Dent*), instead of creating a separate estate from the wife's equitable property, the court awarded the estate to the husband. But it seems most likely that the dearth of cases involving equitable instruments or seeking

breakthroughs for women is due more to social and economic circumstances than to a resistance to English equity law on the part of the court.

In sum, in many areas of equity practice and procedure, the chancery court neither extended extraordinary privileges beyond those of England to women nor, as far as its general adherence to English procedures and the record itself shows, sought systematically and specifically to extinguish women's equity rights as then known in England. The overwhelming evidence of the absence of women's pleas and petitions from the records, together with our knowledge of this society, simply indicates that women in early Maryland either believed they did not need or were unaware of the full range of options open to them under English equity law.

At the same time, the chancery court in Maryland did infringe on the equitable rights of both the men and women who did come to it for relief in several ways inconsistent with English equity practices.

It will be helpful at this point to explain that this Chesapeake colony began as the property and possession of one man—Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. The proprietary grant gave ownership of the land and complete jurisdiction over it to the proprietor himself. This meant that if someone died without an heir (wives were never considered heirs), the person's property escheated or forfeited to the Calverts. Under the charter of 1632, Lord Baltimore was given power to establish all of the courts and appoint the judges. This he did, with the result that the judicial system was prerogative rather than legislative in nature and served the interests of the proprietor through the placement of relatives and friends to the key court positions. Lastly, the proprietary wished to maximize its profits, and for this reason and others, Maryland's raison d'être became the growing, curing, and exporting of tobacco.[48]

The result of the overbearing interest of the proprietor in the Maryland chancery proceedings was a series of decisions by which ordinary equitable remedies were set aside for Lord Baltimore's benefit. About one fourth of the record is taken up with inquiries on behalf of the Calverts. These inquisitions post mortem were also used in England prior to the restoration of Charles II. Upon the death of a tenant of the king, an inquiry was made to ascertain what land the deceased held, by what right, and who was the heir, with the purpose of determining whether the land should escheat to the Crown. The Court of Wards and Liveries had jurisdiction in these matters until it was abolished in 1660, and from then on the writ of post mortem inquisition ceased to exist in England.[49] But in Maryland the proprietary continued to issue this writ out of chancery and obtained the escheat of lands in a manner that was clearly inconsistent with the concept of "equity and good conscience," as well as contrary to the idea of granting relief according to the true intent of the parties.[50]

The planter's wife and the planter became the victims of these inquisitions. One of the most blatant examples involved the case of John and Mary Little, in which the husband's right to bequeath, and conversely the wife's ability to in-

herit her husband's property, was denied. John Little died in 1666 seized of 857 acres of land held in free and common socage "without any heirs to whom the property could descend." But he had written a will making Mary his executrix and devised to her "his whole estate as movable as immovable freely to be at her disposing." By virtue of the will she took possession and later married Joseph Tilly, "who in her right hath held and kept possession of the premises." When Mary died in 1675, an inquest postmortem was ordered and the court decreed the several parcels of land were to escheat and be forfeited to the lord proprietor because John Little had died without an heir. This despite the fact that the jury of twelve men holding the inquest believed the will to be valid.[51] In refusing to recognize the bequest to Mary Little, the proprietary placed in jeopardy every woman's right to inherit land from her husband. Although there were not many cases of this sort, the very fact that a husband's will could be so easily overturned must have made both women and men feel very vulnerable with regard to their land holdings. Why did the court not follow the intentions of the will, which clearly was equity's function? Outside of pecuniary gain, perhaps the proprietary wished to reintroduce the feudal notion that only heirs, and not wives, should inherit the family estate.[52]

In addition, the wife's ability to inherit was impeded by the failure of Baltimore's chancery court to consider the true intentions of wills when they were incorrectly worded. In England it had become customary for the chancellor to amend improperly worded wills in order to fulfill the real desires of the testator.[53] The Maryland chancery did not apply this equity doctrine when the proprietor's interest was at issue. In every post mortem inquisition, when a will was found to be defectively written so that it appeared that only a life interest was granted to the wife and no heir was found, the land escheated to the proprietary.[54] For example, in 1672 Andrew Hinderson made his will in writing and devised to his "welbeloved Wife Elizabeth Hinderson" all his "Estate moveable and imoveable," except for one hundred acres and two cows to Elizabeth's son if he came to Maryland, and if not, then to her. From the testimony presented, it appears that Hinderson and his wife both believed that he had granted her an estate of inheritance in the land, and the jurors conducting the post mortem inquisition also presumed this to be the case. However, because Hinderson had "by defect of skill" neglected to insert the word "heir" after Elizabeth's name, an estate for life was devised, which meant that the land was liable to escheat and in fact did escheat.[55] In not taking into account the intentions of the testator, the chancellor was simply following the common law's literal interpretation of wills. Given that men were frequently at death's door in this Chesapeake colony when they made their wills, without benefit of a lawyer to help draw up correctly worded testaments, and given the English equity precedent, the chancery truly jeopardized the planter's wife's ability to inherit her husband's estate when it failed to provide equitable relief by amending wills.

The proprietary chancery likewise refused to go beyond the medieval common-law tradition and decree an equitable remedy to allow for a widow's contractual

capacity. In the "humble petition of Bridgett Legit" dated 1674, she alleged that Thomas Carvile assigned to her husband John Legit four hundred acres of land. But before a consideration was paid (a valuable consideration was a necessary prerequisite to making a valid assignment of land in Maryland), John Legit died. After his death, not knowing of Carvile's assignment of the land to her husband, Bridgett Legit covenanted with Carvile for the same acres. She paid him 4,400 pounds of tobacco, took possession, and "at Great Charge" built up and cleared the land. The yearly quit rent required of property owners in Maryland was also paid. In other words, she had done everything legally required to possess and own the land in the colony short of the final step of acquiring a patent from the proprietor. Admittedly, it was a medieval common-law custom that if a man, in this case Thomas Carvile, had appeared in open court and assigned all his "right Title and Interest" in the land to another, in this instance John Legit, it was sufficient without consideration to effect a land conveyance. However, the common law of early seventeenth-century England had come to decree that consideration was necessary to the validity of a contract. More important, in a sixteenth-century decision, the English Chancery Court decreed that "Chancery giveth help for perfecting of things well meant and upon good consideration."[56] Most damaging to the claim of equity in the Legit case is the fact that when the proprietor's interest was not at issue, as for example in *Francis* v. *Sparrow* (1675–76), a valuable consideration without the other steps necessary to gain title was considered sufficient to convey the land. In the court's words it wished to perfect a conveyance "according to the true intent and meaning of the sd. writeing."[57] Here, too, the essential element in a contract is that "consideration" was given and received.

Thus, one would have thought the chancery would have taken pity on a widow who claimed the land she had paid for as her only means of support and granted her a patent based on her contract with Carvile. The absence of a valuable consideration by John Legit under the earlier agreement, coupled with Bridgett Legit's total payment for the land, her expenses in improving the property and paying the quit rent, would certainly appear to have more than entitled her to equitable aid and a patent for the land. But this was not to be the case. Instead, the avaricious policies of the proprietor to maximize his profit won out. It then took the court two years after Bridgett Legit's initial petition against the escheat to pass judgment and declare again that the land had escheated. As a "thoughtful" gesture, she received her "one third part" as her dower right in the land the court insisted was her husband's before his death.

Why in such cases did the Maryland Chancery Court function to subvert the very concept for which chancery had been developed—namely, to provide "equity and good conscience," as was indeed specifically provided in "an act for Rule of Judicature" and "an act for Judges" passed by the Maryland assembly in 1642?[58] The first proprietor established his equity court when the chancery in England was still very much a prerogative court serving the Crown's interest,[59] and it was this model, not the more predictable and less prerogative English

Chancery Court of the Restoration period, that shaped Baltimore's conception of equity. The proprietors saw their position as analogous to the Crown and therefore saw nothing wrong with equity decisions based upon their best interests. Also, by placing only relatives and friends on the court, they were able to ensure that their wishes would be served first.[60] Furthermore, as no provision had been made for decisions to be appealed to England, Marylanders were left without recourse but to accept the court's decrees or leave the colony. The net result was to deny both women and men justice, and in the process to inhibit equitable developments for married women in cases where the proprietor stood to gain.

When the proprietor's interest was not at issue, the chancery court appears to have functioned in conformity with English equity practices. For example, in *Beck* v. *Godfrey* the court upheld the trust created by Nicholas Emerson for his wife Elizabeth and her sons Richard and John Beck and their heirs against the claim of George Godfrey, who demanded the estate as "generall heyre." In this case the issue was not whether the two hundred acres in trust would escheat to the Calverts, but whether Nicholas Emerson had created a legal trust to provide a maintenance for Elizabeth Emerson and her sons and their heirs forever, after his death. A few years after the trust was established, Nicholas and then Elizabeth and son John died, leaving the remaining son Richard to bring suit to claim the trust. Richard sued in 1677, but before the case was decided, he too passed away, leaving three daughters as heirs. Through their mother they brought a bill of revivor to have the complaint adjudicated. In 1679, having found the trust "well and sufficiently proved to be to the use of" the Beck daughters and their heirs forever, the court decreed that they take possession in accordance with the trust established by Nicholas Emerson.[61] Thus, in regard to trusts for a wife's maintenance, the Maryland chancery functioned like its counterpart in England.

However, in the area of dower, the court did demonstrate an insensitivity to a widow's rights. This is brought out in a debt action by "Tobias Wells agt John Wright and Mary his wife administrators of Bartholomew Glevin." Wells sued John and Mary Wright for a debt owed by Mary Wright's first husband. While the case was in progress, the second husband died, leaving Mary Wright in possession of both husbands' estates. She was taken to prison where she was "languishing" for refusing to pay Wells. The court ordered that all the land of her first husband in her possession and any other for her use "or by her Order Gift Grant or delievery" were to be sequestered and taken to satisfy the debt. Because of the inclusive nature of the order, it can be inferred that the court was willing to set aside Mary Wright's dower to pay a debt owed by a deceased husband.[62] Surely this decision did not bode well for Maryland widow administratrices who were pursued by aggressive creditors in chancery.

This chapter has concentrated on the proprietary years 1660 to 1683 because after that period and until 1695 the court records are quite sparse and yield nothing germane to the topic under consideration. The chancery suffered a

hiatus during the turmoil surrounding the overthrow of the proprietor in 1689 and did not begin hearing complaints again in any number until 1695 under a royal government that lasted until 1715. The records to the end of the seventeenth century are also disappointing as an aid for understanding how women fared under equity law during the new royal regime. When married women appear at all in causes during this period, they always did so as "the wife of" a named plaintiff or defendant, even though the complaint frequently arose out of the wife's role as administratrix or executrix of her deceased husband's estate.[63] This tends to reinforce the conclusion that an absence of consciousness or desire, rather than a refusal of the proprietor to accord English equity privileges to women in general, lay behind the paucity of decisions favorable to women under the proprietary earlier in the seventeenth century.

Interestingly enough, even though the seventeenth-century chancery records do not reflect the growth of equitable rights for married women, the common-law county courts of Maryland provide a few examples of what would be considered equitable relief parallel to that available in England. For instance, at common law a husband could not bestow a gift upon his wife for her separate use. Yet the Somerset County Court of 1665 records that Phillip Barre "for the love good will and affection which I have and beare toward my loving wife Oliue Barre . . . have given and grant . . . unto Oliue her heirs (etc) . . . one ewe and the increase . . . for her own use . . . without any manner of condicons."[64] Olive Barre also set a precedent in the colony by having a friend bestow a cow and calf yearling and all the increase from them on her for her separate use.[65]

Likewise, while the chancery court records do not reflect a desire to aid the widow, as illustrated in the Bridgett Legit petition, the county court records do. In one instance Ruth Knowles, a widow, was granted the right to retain the remainder of her husband's estate by the Kent County Court, and another widow before the same court was permitted to sell part of her husband's estate because of "her extreame necessities."[66] But such cases were still so rare that it cannot be said that the common-law courts systematically provided equitable relief for married women and widows.

Even though equity law and the chancery in England were developing means for married women to circumvent common-law disabilities, Maryland women did not benefit from the English experience for a variety of reasons. Coming from the lower classes of British society, most Maryland women were not knowledgeable about such developments and would not have had the means of creating equitable estates even had they been cognizant of equity options. The absence of parental guidance for so many, and the failure of those even with parents to create separate estates for daughters were also factors. The low level of economic development, which inhibited the creation of large and complex estates, certainly placed a further damper on the establishment of equitable trusts for daughters. Yet even when trusts were established, the failure of the Maryland

chancery to establish a precedent requiring the husband to settle a separate estate on the wife before gaining possession of trust land all but precluded the possibility of the planter's wife enjoying a property capacity. Once married, due again to the simple nature of the tobacco economy, the planter's wife rarely sought an independent contractual capacity through *feme sole* trader activity or by postnuptial agreement. Although the planter's widow frequently possessed at least the minimum of property required to establish an equitable estate, she appears to have lacked the knowledge or even the desire to provide for an independent equitable status. With regard to the chancery court, this dearth of separate estates in turn meant that the court seldom was in a position either to enforce relief for married women or to further the evolution of equitable rights based on separate estates. Where the proprietor saw a chance to escheat a man's estate, the prerogative nature of the Maryland Chancery Court served as a further negative factor preventing equitable remedies for wives and widows. Neither the women, nor their relatives, nor the chancery court availed themselves of English equitable principles to mitigate the common-law disabilities of the planter's wife or widow. Only with the maturation of the colonial society, and in certain cases with the weakening of proprietary prerogative power, would Maryland women be in a position to take advantage of the theoretical advantage offered them by the development of equity jurisdiction under the English system.

4. Aristocratic Widows in Fifteenth-century England

Joel T. Rosenthal

Women without men were anomalies in medieval society.[1] At the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder were the poor spinsters, the old crones, and those village widows apt to be singled out as healers, midwives, and practitioners of forbidden and misunderstood arts. Higher up the ladder such women had more status and better means, and they could lead lives, either in the world or in religious communities, that offered some better semblance—if only as a mirror image—of their proper place as women, safely ensconced within a male-dominated, male-oriented patriarchal superstructure, whether it was domestic and familial or ecclesiastical.

Of the species *men-less women*, the widow was one of the most common, respectable, and least threatening varieties. And among the widows, the aristocratic or upper-class widow stands as a subspecies about whom we at least have a modicum of data. Although this study began as an investigation of fifteenth-century aristocratic English widows as the female counterparts to the old men among the peers,[2] it soon became evident that a study of the elderly men and of the widowed women from the identical sociopolitical group was not the study of two sides of the same coin. Widows are not just the sexual analogues of old men. The old age of a man—defined roughly as beginning at fifty-five or sixty—was part of the predictable, full life cycle, at least for those who survived. Widowhood, on the other hand, was an experience or a fate into which women were apt to fall at any time after the first marriage, which usually took place in the late teens or early twenties for those at the top of society. Furthermore, widowhood was not just the natural and final stage in the woman's life cycle, as old age was for a man: some women accepted the fate of widowhood, as and when it befell them, and remained widows, whether because of free choice, their acquiescence to the pressures of familial and personal constraint, or simply because they died. But other women looked upon widowhood as a temporary malaise, serious, doubtlessly inconvenient, and not without some pain, but neither terminal nor totally without compensations. Nor, in some cases, was the time of convalescence much beyond that demanded by a serious but unthreatening illness: a good spell of rest and a gradual return to normalcy. In fact, some widows shrugged off their dolorous fate two or even three times—sometimes losing a whole series of aristocratic or commoner husbands to violent or natural deaths before finally accepting their third or fourth widowhood as part of their own life cycle, an ultimate state in which they would spend what remained of their old age.

Widows were certainly familiar figures, at the top of society as well, presumably, as at all lower levels. In 1436, when the peers agreed to assess their own incomes as part of the government's effort to raise money for the French wars, the tabulated results show that while the estates of thirty-four different peerages resided in male hands, those of another thirteen were shared by dowagers and their sons or their late husbands' heirs and those of five more peerages were solely held by dowager peeresses. Expressed as a head count or upper-class land-holding census, the great estates of the late medieval aristocracy, at perhaps the high point of their wealth and power, were actually under the control of forty-seven men and twenty-one women.[3]

These numbers are readily accessible and have been long familiar to historians of fifteenth-century England. We simply take as a matter of course that so many widows (and mothers of the minor heirs to titles and estates) were around, living long lives, well supported by their dower shares of their lands, able to devote themselves to splendor, piety, and comfort, and eager to complicate the unification and transmission of the great patrimonies by the very fact of their longevity. But we rarely have tried to see the world through their eyes, to grasp their view of a social panorama in which they had been so advantageously placed. Part of this neglect is because the widow has been regarded by political and economic historians mainly for her nuisance value, that is, because of her lifelong possession of one-third of her husband's estates. Most have neglected even aristocratic wives and widows because, compared to their husbands, they are a mysterious and elusive group. Great ladies of the day are often but shadows from this distance, and for many we know virtually nothing of antecedents, prior marital history, subsequent unions or spouses, or of their own survival after the moment of widowhood.

But mostly we have neglected these women because they are women, in a man's world, in a world of man's historical sources. They are identifiable as a group and can be treated as subjects of a group study because they are their husbands' *others*. Few stand out as individuals, and even when they come into some focus as widows it is because they realized a peculiar role and a degree of prominence as relicts of still more prominent men. The women of this study inhabit a social universe comprised of those who married and who then outlived fifteenth-century peers. Any attempt at a detailed analysis of the universe of these widows quickly reveals the dilemma of charting their separate lives, apart from just looking at their roles. Of the approximately 160 women in the group, the widows (i.e., the ultimate surviving marital partner) of the 262 or so men summoned to the House of Lords as peers of the realm between 1400 and 1500, what special subcategorization might we choose for the 29 who had already had a nonaristocratic marriage before the one that made them into peeresses (and eventually into peers' widows)?[4] And what about the 45 women who consoled themselves, as widows, with a subsequent marriage to a commoner? And further, what about those 28 widows whose consolation took the form of remarriage to still another peer? And of these 28 women, how do we distinguish the

10 who died while in that second marriage from the 18 who outlived it and who wound up as widows of two (or more) peers?[5] So when seen as the *other* of their sometime husbands, ready classification into even the broadest groups is neither easy nor without ambiguity for the women. Indeed, why should these widows comply with our purposes, given the insensitivity of so many records and the consistent condescension with which they have been treated? Long live tough, dower-clutching widows!

Women of propertied families in late medieval society married younger than they would a few centuries later, when they and their parents had to bow before the iron law of "the European marriage pattern."[6] Since they married men who were usually at least a few years older, and since women who reach maturity generally outlive the men of the same society who also reach maturity, widowhood was always a likely fate awaiting many of the wives.[7] Of the 262 peers examined, 61 percent were survived by a wife, although she may not have been the first or even the second wife of his lifetime. Some of the women, we have noted, already came to the critical aristocratic marriage as widows. But for most women of aristocratic or gentry birth, whether heiresses or not, the aristocratic marriage that interests us was the first marriage. Some of the women then proceeded to follow a short marriage with a long widowhood. Joan Stafford, for example, married the earl of Kent some seven or eight years before his death in 1400, and she lived afterwards as a single lady until her death in 1442. In a less dramatic example, Luci Visconti married Edmund Holland only a year or two before his death, and she spent her remaining sixteen years as a widow. Maud Neville had what we might call a medium-length marriage and a long widowhood: fourteen years of union with Piers, Lord Mauley, twenty-four alone after his death terminated their childless marriage. And at the far end of the scale was the long marriage followed by the long widowhood: Isabel de la Pole had thirty-two years with Lord Morley, thirty-two without him, and the duchess of Norfolk thirty-eight with the duke, thirty afterwards. Young women quite often had short first marriages but followed no predictable pattern of subsequent behavior. Young widows could just hang on to become old widows or could become young second wives. Margaret Tibetot married Roger, Lord Scrope, at age nineteen, buried him when she was thirty-seven, remarried a rather disreputable commoner at thirty-eight or thirty-nine, buried that husband in turn at fifty-four, and finally died, twice widowed, at sixty-five. That was a full life, with its share of ups and downs, for a woman who had begun the game as heiress to a peerage in her own right long before.

Fifteenth-century maidens at most levels of society could be pushed into arranged marriages. We know, from the coercive measures the Pastons used, sometimes with appalling success, that parental pressures might be applied without mercy or consideration.[8] But the widow, in contrast to the maiden, whether aged twenty, forty, or sixty, was in a different position. She was generally under less pressure to remarry, and the chances are that by the fifteenth

century most wealthy widows could withstand such pressure if they so chose. Remarriage was then a voluntary step, and the widow had some control over the duration of the interval between the spouse's death and her next union. Where we have data, we can see that remarriage almost always took place within five years of the husband's death and usually within the very first year or two. This suggests that some women seem to have been inclined toward wedlock, their fall into widowhood but a temporary tumble. Some intervals were so short that they argue for a maritally-oriented personality, if not an eye cocked toward eligible candidates at the first husband's funeral (or before).[9] Joan Fauconberge buried William Neville in January 1463, and by March of that year she had marrieed John Berwyke. Though she was, literally, a "fool and idiot from birth," her status as heiress to the Fauconberge peerage and estates made her sufficiently desirable, nor did her handicap impair her considerable fecundity.[10] Elizabeth Braybrooke remarried within a year of Lord St. Amand's death in 1457, and Margaret Peyore, another heiress-widow, only waited three or four months after Lord St. Maur's departure in 1409. Katherine Berkeley waited about eight or nine months after Lord Stourton died, and Maud Stanhope nine or ten after Lord Willoughby. In fact, of the women whose remarriages we can plot, only ten of forty-eight waited more than five years and still remarried, and only two of these ten seem to have remained widows for a decade before remarriage. In many of these cases the first husband's testamentary bequests to the widow, plus her frequent assumption of a role as his executrix or supervisor, *and* his designation of her as principal beneficiary argue for a reasonable relationship in the marriage. The short duration of so many widowhoods must be seen in a personal or social context, rather than against a background of economic embarrassment or external coercion.

Widowhood took some women by surprise because the husband died by violence. Moreover, some of these women faced a future where risks were compounded by his treason and death under a sentence of attainder. Women so bereft might quickly seek comfort and security or protection in remarriage, but others in this situation chose to ride out the long storm without companionship. Their behavior, in fact, was much like that of women whose husbands had died natural deaths, and the interval between the man's violent death and the woman's remarriage could be as little as six, eight, or ten months, as great as eight or nine years. Women who married three or four times naturally could not have allowed many years to elapse between each set of nuptials, but the average interval for those who married again after a husband had been killed was about three years, about the same or perhaps a trifle above that of women whose husbands had died of natural causes. But here too, some chose to remain unattached through the duration of life. Their age at the time of bereavement is no surer guide to their future marital preference than was the cause or style of the husband's death.

We have referred to remarriage as a visible indication of the widow's control over her life. And if this was so, it was confirmed by the many instances of

sustained or permanent widowhood. In statistical terms, the majority of the aristocratic widows did not remarry, but rather chose to live out their lives alone: 89 of the 162, or 55 percent of the group, never remarried after the death of the aristocratic husband with whose existence we began our tally. Of these 89, we can chart the length of permanent widowhood for about 80. Of these 80, 26 survived their husbands by five years or less, 13 by an interval of six to ten years, 21 by ten to nineteen years, and 20 by at least twenty years. Expressed in percentages, the respective figures are 33 percent, 16 percent, 26 percent, and 25 percent. Once again, the figures argue against any single explanatory model, against any direct correlation between survival and remarriage. We get no clear impression either of a universe of elderly widows near their own graves or of one comprised of youngish women facing a quarter century or more of life without a partner. Variation again seems the key. Obviously, old women would generally outlive their last partners for fewer years than would young ones, but beyond the limits of common sense this truism quickly exhausts itself. The countess of Warwick was perhaps forty-five or fifty when she died, only eight months after her husband. Others may have been older when death occurred, within a year or eighteen months of the spouse, and some had already been widowed once. But some women of comparable ages had had long widowhoods, and solitary lives that had stretched for a quarter or a third of a century are not hard to identify. When Cecilly Neville died in 1495 she had outlived her husband by thirty-five years and her youngest son, Richard III, by ten. Such a life is best seen, not so much in terms of a life cycle, but rather as a series of epic chapters that, by the end, were barely connected through living memory.

This material allows us a rough assessment of what we can call the quantitative aspects of late medieval upper-class English widowhood. The picture is so varied that no modal explanation or pattern can be imposed upon the data. Widowhood, as we have remarked, was a state into which young and old, newly married and long married, were alike apt to find themselves, often with little warning. Some women experienced the state but once, some as many as three or four times. Some came to their lofty roles as peeresses with one or two lesser husbands already behind them in the grave; others had been mere children when they had entered the partnership from which they would ultimately emerge as the survivor. Widowhood was a common condition, as measured by its statistical incidence, but it was not a common lot in the sense of embracing any essential set of attendant characteristics. In its multifold variety widowhood was but another facet of the role allotted to women in the social structure. It had the peculiar quality, though, of being an involuntary condition in which one could—and most did—choose to remain. Furthermore, it began as an objective state, imposed from outside. But in many instances the objective condition triggered a set of subjective responses and behavioral options that transformed widowhood from an external condition into an element of each individual's internalized definition of reality. A woman responded to her widowhood in a dialectical fashion; she sought to shape the widowhood just as it imposed upon and shaped her.

As part of this inquiry into the lives of long dead and departed women, we can also examine some qualitative aspects of widowhood. If we conventionally imagine the affluent medieval widow as a pious and elderly lady, eager to enter a religious order or to live in the world under a heavy vow of perpetual chaste widowhood,[11] we are doomed to some disappointment. Few of these women, once bereft of or freed from the marital bond, turned to a life of explicit piety; those who did never represented more than a tiny percentage of the aristocratic widows. The dowager duchess of Clarence chose "to lead a celibate life and putting aside worldly pomps" entered the Augustinian house of St. Saviour, London, in 1428, a full seven years after her husband had been killed in France, eleven before she was to die. Upon her death she left money for a magnificent monument, extolling both her aristocratic husbands. Several women took the veil, but even then their commitment to St. Jerome's ideal of chastity was rarely as simple or as automatic as the words might signify. Lady Grey remarried three years after her first lord's death; her second marriage lasted eleven years. Only four years after she entered her second widowhood she made her pious vows before the bishop of Ross. Several widows, like the duchess of Clarence, remained in the world somewhere between five and twelve years before entering the cloister. Other women never took formal vows, though the dreary and routinized piety of the duchess of York's household must have had little to distinguish it from the nunnery.[12] However, we know from other studies that by the fifteenth century the call to a vocation within mother church was weak, and while the earl of Pembroke had asked his wife to take the "order of widowhood" after his death, we have no information as to her ultimate choice. Perhaps she thought life in late fifteenth-century Wales sufficiently ascetic without further constraints. The countess of Shrewsbury was all set to take the veil when she changed her mind, and four years after the earl's death she sought a royal license to marry as she pleased. Again, we do not know how she used her "born again" freedom, though she lasted for another nine or ten comfortable years on her dower share of the extensive Talbot estates.

But most women, whatever their personal or private inclinations, were not eager to commit themselves to leave the world or to circumscribe their behavior while in it. A widow's dower share was one-third of her late husband's estate (of the lands held in chief), by itself no mean inducement to remain a secular person. In the parliamentary assessment of 1436, the dowagers' shares in the estates and patrimonies had ranged from Lady Clinton's £60 and Lady Darcy's £121, at the bottom, to the duchess of Clarence's vast income of £1,333 and the countess of Stafford's £1,958. This meant that for the aristocratic widows a standard of living—if the income from the lands was realized, and even if it were not supplemented by other revenues, as it often was—that ran from the comfortable to the truly magnificent. An exceptionally large dower assignment like that made to the dowager duchess of Norfolk in 1470 could only be turned over to her control after no less than fourteen sets of royal writs were issued to the appropriate administrative agents in ten English counties, the marches of Wales, and the Welsh lordships of Gower and Pennarth.[13]

The traditional widow's share surely helped some bereaved women overcome not only personal loss but serious legal obstacles, such as her late husband's attainder, or perhaps the treason of the son and heir. Numerous well-born or well-mated women collected their full one-third dower despite these pressing problems, thanks to a political generosity that often yoked even the most errant members of the upper class in a touching display of social solidarity. Henry IV's sister, the widowed duchess of Exeter, was quickly given 1,000 marks from the customs revenues of London "until she be provided by the king with lands to that value for her maintenance," the late John Holland's forfeiture notwithstanding. The king followed this substantial subsidy to his sister with a general gift of her late husband's goods, including £225 worth of personal items allowed her upon her remarriage in December 1400, a bare eleven months after the duke's execution.[14] When Lord Roos was killed in the Wars of the Roses, his lands were placed under control of a trio, of whom his widow's nephew was the main figure. These three were to be custodians of the estate, "to hold [the lands] during the life of Philippa, wife of the latter and sister of the said earl, for her use and profit and the sustenance of herself and her children and servants."[15]

As the guardian of minor child-heirs, the widow's temporary portion of her late husband's estates often was even healthier than what she would realize for herself from her dower share. As well as her own one-third, Lady Fitzhugh was to be warden of the rest of her husband's lands, "during the minority of Richard, his son and heir, and the custody and marriage of the latter without disparagement."[16] Nor was the widow's wealth diminished by the fact that she might well be an heiress in her own right. We suspect that no other sizable group of fifteenth-century women—whether wives, widows, or female heads of religious houses—was composed of 36 percent heiresses: 58 of the 160 widows stood to inherit land as a sole or joint heiress. But at least we can appreciate how worldly advantage offered more than pro forma competition to the diminishing call of the cloister or the withdrawn, veiled life.

Not every widow received her dower share without difficulty. Although some suffered what we might consider to be no more than relative deprivation, their own peers could be quite sympathetic to their problems, for wealth and status were so bound together. A touching petition was presented to Henry IV, who then allowed Lady Darcy, "in consideration of her poor estate and because she has the charge of maintenance of one son and four daughters who are not yet married or otherwise promoted, of £40 yearly from the issues . . . late of her said husband."[17] We pierce the veil of upper-class stoicism or solidarity when we learn that Lady Talbot "has lately informed the king that if she had to pay the whole fine which she lately granted before the council to the king's use for the keeping and marriage of her daughter . . . all that she received from the issues of the lands of the said daughter and all that is assigned to her in dower would not suffice for payments."[18] She was granted a respite from paying the whole fine: neither political adversity nor social control of the aristocracy was meant to reduce its members to penury.

Women who had remained in the world sometimes found themselves entangled in difficulties beyond the recovery of dower shares. Lady Bardolf sought (and obtained) royal permission to collect and reunite her late husband's head and four quarters and to bring them together for burial. Eleanor Cobham, wife of Humphrey of Gloucester, was convicted for her role in a witchcraft ring, and after the humiliation of public penance, was forced to spend her remaining years in confinement or house arrest.[19] Lady Hungerford had to assume the hopeless responsibility of guarding the family fortunes after they had been fatally drained in an effort to pay her late son's ransom, and Edward IV took steps to advance her £200 to meet her expenses.[20] The countess of Kent likewise found herself crushed by debts, the legacy of her husband's great birth and greater pretensions during his lifetime. The dowager duchess of Bedford (who was also, in turn, the dowager countess Rivers) complained that witchcraft was being used against her. As Edward IV's unpopular mother-in-law in the 1470s, she may well have been correct. Some widows were forced into more adventure, and even danger, than they would have willingly courted. The countess of Salisbury had to flee the realm in 1460, along with other leading Yorkists; she struggled for some years to have her attainder reversed, her father's lands restored to her and her heirs. The countess of Warwick later spent a decade resisting Richard III's greed and then importuning Henry VII for the restoration of her lands and wealth. She finally received a handsome settlement and was even appointed to the lucrative sinecure of principal keeper of Wychwood Forest.

Remarriage always stood as the voluntary escape route from widowhood, and about 73 of our 160 widows, or 45 percent of the group, took the route. Because of their status and the politically sensitive nature of their wealth—mainly consisting of land held in chief from the lord king, technically in return for military service—they needed royal permission for remarriage. Many ladies (or their prospective partners) failed to seek this in advance. In consequence, after the fact of remarriage they often had to face royal anger, combined with royal cupidity. Lady Roos had to pay £1,000 for a royal pardon, plus one year's worth of her dower revenues, in order to regain her dower share of land after it had been confiscated: her unwelcome bridegroom spent an involuntary vacation in the Tower of London. The king was not amused when an aristocratic widow, also an heiress in her own right, "married herself dishonourably without license from the king."[21] The countess of Oxford, another heiress, was able to regain her dower with a fine of only £100, and £30 sufficed to restore Lady Zouche and her commoner husband "of their trespass for intermarrying without license."[22] Sometimes a humble petition did the trick, along with a formal apology. Royal anger was not consistently or constantly brought to bear. If the formalities had been observed, the king frequently complied, and sooner or later granted a license like that given to dowager Lady Hastings. Her future freedom was hardly limited: "Pardon to Mary Hastings, widow . . . and license to marry who she will and continue in enjoyment of such lands as her husband and she held in survivorship."[23] Except in unusual cases, as when Edward IV forced a marriage

between an aged dowager duchess and one of his young Wydeville in-laws,[24] there is little indication that the king was any more manipulative or covetous toward widows than toward any other well-heeled, well-placed group that passed directly beneath the royal eye. Twenty-eight of our women were married to more than one nobleman: horizontal moves were not unusual, roughly equal social or marital status easy enough for such ladies to maintain. But 45 others "descended" from noble widowhood to subsequent marriage with a commoner, a step that argues both for relative personal freedom and a refreshing indifference to the social standards set by the Beauchamps, the Beauforts, and the de la Joneses.

We have argued that the length or permanence of widowhood offers no clue as to the quality (or the quantity) of the married life that had preceded it. The wills of the late husbands usually contain both significant bequests for the wives and some indication of mutual trust and cooperation. Since the dower share of real property assured the widow of a life of comfort, and often well beyond mere comfort, testamentary bequests of personal goods could signify a bond between husband and wife, a reflection of some desire on his part to use material objects to testify to the common life and enterprise now over. The goods left to the widow might be of a practical sort, to furnish the kitchen, bedrooms, and other rooms or to keep the household from being stripped by the heirs-at-law and the younger generation. Or the bequests might be items of intrinsic or sentimental value. Of course, there were variations in the levels of involvement, as there were of affection, and if the occasional husband's will contained no mention at all of the wife, it was more likely to include bequests to and for her and to name her for such roles as guardian of the children, payer of debts, executrix, or supervisor. Lord Hungerford was being expansive but hardly exceptional when he left to his "most dear consort" a huge collection of vestments, altar utensils, chalices, spoons, candlesticks, cups, and books, and far richer nobles topped his list without undue difficulty.[25]

The wills of the husbands and of their surviving wives, when read in conjunction, reveal a deep truth about human relationships and the set of social realities we see reflected in sex roles. The husband's view of the mutual world of the married couple was generally fairly simple: he equated their world with his world. Their children were his children, the problems of descent and inheritance mostly those of his name and his lineage. Though the titles and estates of heiress-wives could complicate or qualify this, even this peculiarity was usually worked out by the next generation, when her legacy to their children was subsumed by the heirs of his line.

In contrast, the wills of the widows open a usually closed window on the more amorphous or malleable situation of the woman, and the wills even suggest that many widows kept their honorific, single status because it promised some amelioration from years spent in a derived or vicarious identity. It was common practice, of course, for a widow to identify herself in her will in terms of her late husband's name and status: "I, Lucy, viscontess of Kent and lady Wake . . ." and

that sort of nomenclature. This, like the common request for burial alongside the former spouse, was a normal attribute or practice of the wife as her husband's (former) alter ego. But if we look carefully we can see how women acted with more gradations and nuances as the changing circumstances of their lives opened peculiar options and alternatives. When she had had more than one husband, how did she then identify herself in her last will? Not always by the first spouse's name and identity, nor by those of the last one either, in some cases, but perhaps by the name and rank of the mate of highest status, the highest bidder in the social auction. Eleanor Berkeley, dowager countess of Arundel, widow of Robert Poynings (of a noble family), and widow of Lord Hungerford, referred to her first and third husbands: in the preamble of her will she was Lady Mautravers and Hungerford.[26] Lord Scrope of Masham married the dowager duchess of York, and in his will he referred to his relict as the duchess of York, a far grander title than any she could have acquired through her second marriage.[27] The countess of Shrewsbury displayed a vast pride in her network of kinship and fecundity: "Here lyeth Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, which was daughter, sister, wife, and grandmother and kinswoman to the earles of Arundell, Wynton, Ormond, and Shrewsburies."[28]

Wives could also choose burial with an eye on worldly status, as when Elizabeth FitzWalter chose Dunmow Priory, with the second of her three husbands the only peer of the group. Lady de la Warre asked for burial with "my late beloved," and Anne Holland said, "for the disposicion of my body, I orden and bequeth it to be buried in the chapell wt in the chauncell of the Collage of Seint Katerines . . . wher' as my lordys body is buried."[29] Joan Cobham, heiress to a peerage in her own right and the survivor of four marriages, chose burial in her family's church beside the second husband, a commoner, but the only spouse by whom she had borne children. Lady Wenlock ignored her aristocratic mate and two other husbands as well, to choose burial with the second (out of four), a chief baron of the exchequer. We can see the scope of choice accorded survivors and how the collection of the successive roles or identities gathered through the course of a lifetime forced an ultimate decision of identity upon the departing lady. But she could revel in her options. Sometimes she even turned her back on the entire dilemma posed by multiple marriages and changing circles of relationship, and chose burial with her father, in her family's favorite church, or even with maternal relatives if they had been of special note.

The family bequests in the widows' wills were mostly unexceptionable: personal items to the circles of kin, from children and grandchildren out to siblings, nieces, and nephews, and then farther out to more miscellaneous kin, for example, godchildren, stepchildren, and cousins via unspecified links. Lady Fitzhugh acted in a fairly comprehensive fashion, leaving bequests to four sons, five daughters, and one godchild. She had been an heiress, a wife for thirty or more years, and a widow for a couple of years at the end. Her bequests included a ring with a relic of St. Peter's finger, given to her son, bishop of London. Half a dozen of her books were distributed among their intended recipients, one by

one, and there was a cash provision for the marriage and settlement of any children as yet unwed. She leaves us an impression of aged matriarchy as she went off to lie beside her husband at the Cistercian house at Jervaux.[30]

When we have the wills of both members of the married couple, we can see a regular pattern emerge. The man, dying first and therefore leaving younger children, had to worry about the marriages of the young daughters and the education, upbringing and establishment of the younger sons. The wife, who had fewer unmarried offspring and perhaps a world of more grandchildren than children, was more apt to be concerned with the disposal of personal items among the favored survivors. The net of distribution among relatives, that is, the number of beneficiaries and their relationship outward from ego, was usually greater in the will of the widow than it had been in that of her previously departed husband. But this accords with the view that he had had heavier obligations, she more honorific and sentimental ones. At least many a widow died leaving a final impression of herself as a grande dame, distributing the silver basin where she used to wash her hands, the hangings depicting antelopes, the primer with clasps of velvet, the bed with its cloth of gold, the profits of land due from an indenture or enfeoffment, all to go along with the subsidization of prayers for "my most dere and best biloved husband."[31]

Though more evidence can be adduced to support these lines of argument, the main themes are clear. Some element of uneasiness remains, however, because what was true of women at the very top of society may not have been true for others once we begin a socioeconomic descent. Wealth, status, and powerful kin networks helped insulate the aristocratic widow from many of the bleaker economic and even personal aspects of her new role. For centuries there clearly had been a real need for the protection offered by clause 8 of Magna Carta: "No widow shall be forced to marry so long as she wishes to live without a husband." But most of our upper-class women, at least, were relatively free of the fear of a forced remarriage. They had a freedom to choose their own future, and in various ways they seem to have exercised this freedom. When they opted for remarriage, they rarely had to go into the world as suppliants, and some were even willing to run the risk of royal wrath for the sake of a dangerous or declassé union. If our study of women has begun at the top and thereby carries certain risks regarding the atypical position of aristocrats, it offers us in return a tolerable certainty of data. One redeeming feature of this kind of behavioral microstudy, whatever its faults and limitations, is that it gets us away from the world so long dominated by that tedious triad of Margaret Paston, Margery Kempe, and Chaucer's Wife of Bath. Better by far a little information about many than so much knowledge about so few.

This study confirms from a historical perspective what even school children suspect: women are different from men. For men the life cycle, Shakespeare's wonderfully expressed seven ages of man, was realized through the correlation or linkage of chronological age, physical and mental prowess, and socioeconomic

roles. Progress from the beginning of life to the end was linear, or perhaps circular: the riddle of the sphinx is still with us. But for women the vectors were less linear, the correlation between age, biological function, and social roles more the results of independent and external variables. Old age and widowhood were related, but both youth and widowhood could also be, and, conversely, old age and marriage. Also, the progression through the stages contained an element of choice insofar as permanent widowhood and remarriage were part of the experiences and alternatives of a given life. The change of marital partners for the husband was a matter of choice, but it hardly ever altered his identity, his persona. For the wife—especially after the first, normalizing marriage—it did. As she went through life, acquiring (and perhaps discarding) a variety of surnames and titles, of children by different fathers, of stepchildren, of new and changing circles of in-laws and affinities, the mosaic of her life became more colorful, each piece perhaps less distinct, less integral. Some women resisted this fragmentation, and closed the shop once the first master had been carried out on his bier. Others coped with it—some perhaps with pleasure and a sense of adventure, reveling in the challenge to reintegrate a new ego. Some bore their complicated burdens with resignation and even sadness: we should not equate the freedom of the widow with a joy of widowhood.

In our study of the past we tend to extol those with whom we can identify. They include those who in a variety of guises "beat the system." In late medieval society, resting on such a bedrock of male chauvinism, even dowager duchesses and countesses became, improbably, members of the bypassed and underprivileged. We applaud their independence as well as their courage in dealing with the staggering blows of personal bereavement and emotional shipwreck. How did people deal, we ask, with a world where children and marital partners were regularly swept overboard? With bravery, no doubt. But it is also important not to exaggerate the victories of the human spirit in its unequal struggle against the fierce tides of the prevalent culture, manifested in its institutions and mores. Rich widows could at least fight back. But to close on a sober note, we see how desperate their fight was apt to be when we look at the cavalier fashion in which the dowager Lady Lovel, once the royal nanny, was turned out to pasture with a pension:

> Commission to Alexia lady Lovell, reciting her service to Edward Prince of Wales in his tender days, and discharging her from attendance about his person because he is now so grown as to be committed to the rules and teachings of men wise and strenuous, to understand the acts and manners of a man befitting such a prince, rather than to stay further under the keeping and governance of women; and because she is oppressed with grave infirmities in body and sight.[32]

Her service was appreciated, of course, but what could really be said for someone who could do nothing to remedy her shortcomings regarding her age, her health, and her sex?

II. Adapting the Structure

Introduction

This group of essays analyzes the efforts of women firmly placed within a well-established social structure to expand the definition of their traditional roles. Ann Shteir discusses the careers of female botanists in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, who justified their activities by appealing to the "feminine" avocations of gardening and flower painting while exploiting their roles as helpmeets to their fathers and husbands. Joyce Antler focuses on Lucy Sprague Mitchell's struggle to combine a spectacularly successful career as a child educator with her life as a wife and mother, an effort Antler calls "life-process feminism." In the course of her discussion, Antler raises fundamental questions about how one evaluates a woman's success or failure as a mother and whether such questions are germane to studies of the careers of professional women. Jodi Bilinkoff turns to another traditional female role, that of the holy woman, and shows how it offered a genuine alternative to a poor peasant visionary in Avila in sixteenth-century Spain.

Significantly, most of the women discussed in these essays depended upon the accidents of birth and their relationships to men for the resources that permitted them to restructure their lives in more fulfilling directions. Mari Díaz is the only woman who appears in these papers who took the initiative in rejecting the conditions of her birth, and she was a poor peasant, doomed to marriage and a life of hard manual labor. Mitchell, the botanists, and the ladies of Avila's wealthy convents all came from prosperous families with the money and influence to further their aspirations. Indeed, the convent had become a recognized repository for female members of great families who would not or could not move from a daughter or sister position to that of wife or mother. At the same time, it became a fictive family of mother and sisters for its members. A poor *beata* like Mari Diaz, bent on carving out a highly unconventional career molded to her own spiritual impulses, was given countenance and authority by these established models.

Despite their firm position in a well-defined social hierarchy, women in sixteenth-century Avila eventually transcended class barriers to create a network of aristocratic wives and nuns with a poor *beata*—a network that ultimately redefined the meaning of religious community in the city. Their success in forming a female network introduces a theme that will recur throughout this book. These women also defied the social boundary that separated female and male spheres of activity. To achieve their goals, they influenced, redirected, and participated in the reform movement begun by the men who led the church in the city.

In the final years of her life, Mari Díaz was spiritual mother to her own "family" of devotees and was sheltered in the church of San Millàn, property of the wealthy Cistercian sisters of Santa Ana, site of a school for poor boys, and

one of the first Tridentine seminaries in Spain. There she played a vital role in transforming the spiritual communities of Avila, an indispensible link between women and men, young and old, rich and poor in the developing urban center.

All three of the chapters in this section concentrate on women who created unique roles for themselves by adapting the structures that defined their lives without openly challenging accepted definitions of what was "feminine." Their success in expanding and reinterpreting the traditional female roles of wife, daughter, mother, and holy woman illustrates one way in which women gained a measure of autonomy in social systems created by men.

5. Was She a Good Mother? Some Thoughts on a New Issue for Feminist Biography

Joyce Antler

In the past decade, the frontiers of women's history have been continuously expanded to include ever new imaginative territories. Questions about women's work, political organization, education, sexuality, and networking are among the vital issues that have received careful analysis during this period. Yet many other issues, fundamental to understanding the contours of women's lives in the past, remain to be addressed. One of these concerns motherhood, certainly a significant aspect of women's experience, but one that has not attracted much historical interest. The reasons for this neglect are not difficult to fathom. In the effort to construct theoretical frameworks with which to explain women's roles in society and culture, historians of women have generally targeted their attention upon the public manifestations of women's contributions. Seeking to understand the myriad ways in which social structure and ideology have shaped female attitudes and behavior, they have by and large looked less intensively at private lives and familial relationships than at public activity. Where private experience has been examined, sexuality, friendship, and marriage have garnered the lion's share of attention. Motherhood, though a subject of paramount interest to feminist scholars in psychology, sociology, biology, and other disciplines, remains outside the parameters of current historical research.

The scanty attention paid to the experience of mothering is also explained by the fact that most women whose lives have been of greatest interest to historians were unmarried. Yet motherhood was important to such early feminists as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Lucy Stone, and to those of a later generation like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Margaret Sanger, and Florence Kelley, each of whom struggled to balance commitments to public feminism with family responsibilities. Crossing several generations were women like Elizabeth Blackwell, Emily Blackwell, Leonora O'Reilly, Elisabeth Irwin, and Harriet Johnson, unmarried women whose woman-oriented environments included adopted children (usually daughters) as well as female friends and colleagues. The incorporation of mothering into the current reassessment of women's past can contribute much to our understanding of historical change as well as to the development of interdisciplinary feminist frameworks. One obvious though underutilized approach to the historical examination of this important subject is through biography.

Biography can help us understand what I have called "life-process" feminism —the personal ways in which an individual struggles to achieve autonomy by

confronting gender-defined issues at each stage of the life cycle.[1] In the case of the educator Lucy Sprague Mitchell, life-process feminism took several different forms at succeeding life stages. Mitchell's experience illustrates, for example, the daughter's successful resolution of the struggle against the "family claim" that troubled many women seeking independent lives during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] The two decades of Mitchell's widowhood, in which she succeeded in overcoming the grief and self-doubt that overwhelmed her after her husband's death, further reveal how personal struggles to achieve self-determination are ultimately gender-based issues. But it was the merging of family and career in Mitchell's middle years—the struggle to balance an independent professional identity with the demands of familial intimacy and care—that loomed largest on the broad canvas of Mitchell's life and that most reflected her life-process feminism.

As the founder of the institution now known as the Bank Street College of Education and its director for forty years, as well as the author of nearly twenty books, Mitchell had an influential public career.[3] One of the most attractive parts of Mitchell's life, however, is her private history, or more precisely, the ways in which she blended the private and public spheres. Her life seemed to throw into bold relief the dilemmas of educated women of her generation and our own, who attempt to work as professionals full time, while at the same time marrying and raising children. She wrote about these dual aspects of her experience in *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself*, which is as much a presentation of the two different worlds of the Mitchells—private and public—as it is an individual portrait of each marital partner.[4] While the book and Mitchell's unpublished memoirs reveal a great deal about the Mitchells' domestic life, the experience of parenthood remains curiously elusive, especially in view of the fact that Mitchell chose to portray the successful synthesis of work and family as a central theme of her life and that her professional success came in the field of child development and education. After interviewing Mitchell's three surviving children, I found that the question of parenting and the place it played in Mitchell's life became even more intriguing. The experiences of Lucy Sprague Mitchell as a mother raise some problematic, yet ultimately promising, issues for understanding not only Mitchell's own development but for reconceiving one important dimension of the study of feminist lives in history.

Lucy Sprague was born in Chicago in 1878, the fourth of six children of Lucia and Otho Sprague.[5] Sprague had come to Chicago eight years earlier to join a small wholesale grocery business recently started by his older brother and another former Vermont farmboy. Sprague Warner and Co. shortly became the largest wholesale grocery business in the world, an achievement due by all accounts to the imagination, enterprise, and judgment of Lucy's father, one of an extraordinary group of businessmen, among them Armour, Pullman, Field, Palmer, and McCormick, whose pioneering spirit in the decades after the Civil War helped turn Chicago into a major urban metropolis.

Despite her family's wealth and privilege, Lucy Sprague experienced a difficult childhood. Lonely, inhibited, and shy, she grew up feeling that she was unworthy and sinful. Her father's pervasive New England Puritanism, which had taken root even in that midwestern setting, was thus responsible for the first lesson of her life: that she had a secret "bad" self in addition to the false "good" self she presented to the outside world.

The second lesson came from observing the plight of her mother, a naturally gay, charming, musical woman who lived a shadowy, invalid life, subject to headaches and depression, in a home ruled by her husband. At the Sprague household, duty, sobriety, discipline, and humility were paramount concerns; play, self-expression, and any outward symbols of affection were banished. It is not surprising that in such an atmosphere the Spragues turned out to be a nervous group of children with many illnesses, nor that Lucia Sprague became so physically weak, shy, and self-deprecating that her family pitied as well as loved her. This, the lesson of patriarchal marriage, left a deep impression upon young Lucy's absorbent mind.

The third lesson of Lucy's youth came during adolescence, when the Pullman strike of 1894 divided father and daughter. Otho Sprague, a director of the Pullman Company and close friend of George Pullman, supported management, while Lucy sided with the workers and with Jane Addams, who had until then enjoyed the family's benevolence. Otho Sprague, arguing that "a woman could not understand business affairs and shouldn't interfere," forbade Lucy to see Addams again. For the first time, Lucy realized that her father had "one attitude toward people who had money and another toward people who did not." She developed a "sense of shame and guilt at being rich" that never completely left her. Jane Addams became a symbol for her of a "human, non-money" point of view.[6] Every cause Addams stood for thereafter was to be her cause as well.

Formal schooling had a minimal effect on Lucy as a child. She spent only one month in a kindergarten before her parents removed her after older girls played a prank on her. Thereafter she and her youngest siblings were tutored at home. Later on, during preadolescence, Lucy was sent to a finishing school for girls, but trembled with fear and apprehension when she entered a classroom. This malady succeeded in keeping her out of school until she was sixteen. During these years, books became her chief hope of becoming educated, and she read her way through her father's huge library, shelf by shelf.

Lucy Sprague came to know several faculty members at the new University of Chicago. Most influential were John Dewey and especially Alice Freeman Palmer, the former Wellesley College president who stayed with the Spragues when she came to the city periodically to serve as part-time dean of women at the university.

In 1893 health problems forced the Spragues to leave Chicago for southern California. Lucy's two youngest brothers had each died from a contagious disease, and her elder sister Nancy had undergone a mental breakdown. This turn

of affairs threw her mother into a profound depression. Otho Sprague, meanwhile, suffered a severe hemorrhage, a consequence of the tuberculosis he had contracted during the Civil War. Lucy served as nurse to her parents, then was sent to the Marlborough School for Girls in Los Angeles. This time she enjoyed school, rebelling openly when it appeared that she would have to resume her nursing duties after graduation.

The situation was resolved when Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer invited Lucy to live with them in Cambridge and attend Radcliffe College. In spite of her father's objections, she entered Radcliffe in 1896. She majored in philosophy, taking courses with William James, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, Hugo Munsterberg, and George Herbert Palmer, graduating magna cum laude with honors in philosophy. She was also, at various times, class president and vice-president, member of the basketball team, and chairman of the swimming pool committee. In Cambridge, too, Lucy became the beloved "only daughter" of Alice Palmer, "fairly sprouting" under the attention and devotion shown her.[7]

After graduation, Lucy returned to California to resume her role as family nurse. She began to study landscape gardening at the Throop Institute, but her course there failed to satisfy her needs. Unhappy at home and in her work, her health deteriorated. Again she was rescued by the Palmers, who took her with them to Europe. Alice Palmer died suddenly in Paris, however, and Lucy returned with the grief-stricken widower to Cambridge. She remained with him for several years, "caught in a vise stronger than Father ever forged for me."[8] Finally, though, the "incredible happened," as she put it—President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California invited her to become dean of women at the school, a position she accepted on condition that she also be appointed a member of the faculty.[9] Sprague was an innovative dean at Berkeley, abandoning the traditional wardenlike or motherly conception of the role to focus on expanding educational and social opportunities for women students. She improved housing conditions, started courses in sex education, strengthened women's organizations, and held weekly poetry readings at her home. She also took students to examine social conditions in the San Francisco community. Ultimately, however, she found her administrative work as dean "vicarious" and unrewarding. She was also disillusioned by the fact that the only profession for which the university prepared women students was teaching, a choice so limited she found it "preposterous." To find vocational alternatives for herself and her students, she took a four-months' leave from the university during the winter of 1911–12. Sprague went to New York City, apprenticing herself to several dynamic women—Lillian Wald at the Henry Street Settlement, Florence Kelley at the Consumers' League, Mary Richmond at the Charity Organization Society, Pauline Goldmark at the Russell Sage Foundation, and Julia Richman, principal of a public high school. The last placement turned out to be the most significant for her, she later wrote. Public education was "the synthesis of all my interests, all my hopes for humanity. I returned to Berkeley with a clear focus in my own life from which I have never since deviated."[10]

Actually, however, Sprague's apprenticeship in New York was a time of intense emotional turmoil. While testing career possibilities for herself, she was also deciding whether her future would hold not only a career but marriage. Scores of letters exchanged between Sprague, now thirty-three, and Wesley Clair Mitchell, a thirty-seven-year old economist at Berkeley, who wanted Sprague to marry him, examined every aspect of the dilemma of marriage versus career. Sprague admitted her deep love and passion for Mitchell, but feared that marriage would stifle her deep ambitions for a meaningful work life. "Would this side of me make marriage with you more or less worthwhile, both for you and for me?" she asked. "If it hindered it would have to be squelched for if I marry you, your work and your standards shall prevail."[11] Mitchell responded clearly, swiftly, and repeatedly. "I should be the prouder of you for holding to your constructive work. . . . For marrying like a man without narrowing your sphere and usefulness. It is true that we know few married couples who attempt and still fewer who succeed in living thus," he admitted. "But you and I have certain circumstances in our favor," he pointed out.

> If you wanted to decorate china and I wanted to make money in steel we might find a chasm difficult to bridge. . . . But the further you can develop your philanthropic plans, and the more I can make of economic theory, the nearer we shall come together. Your work would supplement and aid mine and mine would supplement and aid yours. You would not have to give up your plans; on the contrary you would realize them more effectively by marrying me.[12]

Sprague was unpersuaded. If she "yielded" to Mitchell, as she put it, would she not be marrying him out of her own timidity and ultimately from fear of the very independence she so desperately sought? Marriage signified a "refuge" from the world, and she feared that as a wife she might revert from actively participating in her own life to the passivity that plagued her early years. The professional women she admired were single women, like Wald or Addams, who had never married, or who, like Kelley, had divorced. The married women who had most influenced her, on the other hand, were the childless Alice Palmer and her own mother, a shy and tentative adult in her own home. In the end, Sprague accepted Mitchell's contention that marriage would not hinder her opportunity to work, but then she began to focus on the defects in his personality. "I fear to marry you," she wrote, "lest I find that dread of an unshared life and the longing for physical children has led me to mate with a man whose personality is less than mine. . . . Your character, your loveableness and your intelligence appeal to me convincingly . . . but the fact remains that your masculinity does not compel me. . . . I *cannot* surrender."[13]

Despite Sprague's understanding that a successful marriage must in fact be a relationship between equal partners, she was distracted by a more conventional female desire that her lover be a strong man who would dominate her. Ironically, it was Mitchell's sympathy with Sprague's feminist aspirations that led her to question his masculinity, a pattern observed among other female profes-

sionals of this era. Yet Mitchell discounted Sprague's newest objections and eventually won her over. "I don't feel that I lack personality," he began. "I don't even feel that you have as strong a personality as mine. . . . Have you found yourself as I have found myself? . . . Have you my firmness of purpose? Which of us is freer from the domination of conventional values?" He argued against Sprague's notion that marriage was a more cowardly choice than the "alternative" life that inspired her. "You are troubled by a lurking fear that you might marry because you are afraid of freedom. But what is freedom but the opportunity to choose? Would you not be exercising freedom—making a splendid effort of your very own will against the pressure of environment by deciding that you want to marry me? . . . You will find life not less full of opportunity for choosing," he concluded, "not less heavy with responsibilities as a wife than as a spinster. It's not a refuge that I offer you but a fighting mate."[14]

The decision to marry Wesley Mitchell was the turning point of Lucy Sprague's personal as well as professional life. The two moved to New York, where Wesley Mitchell could observe at firsthand the business cycles that he had been writing about. Lucy Mitchell plunged immediately into the world of education—taking courses at Teachers College with Dewey and volunteering in a number of educational projects. In 1916, when her cousin Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge came to her with a pledge of $50,000 annually for ten years for use in some educational venture, the Mitchells, with Lucy's co-worker, Harriet Johnson, founded the innovative Bureau of Educational Experiments, the predecessor to Bank Street. By the time the bureau began operations, the Mitchells had four children: the first, a boy, and the third, a girl, were adopted. The second and fourth children were also boys. After years of drift, Lucy Mitchell's life now merged into a single personal and professional unity. "It was a highly focused life," she recalled, "with everything concentrated on children, each aspect of my work illuminating the others."[15]

Like many educated women of her generation, Lucy Sprague had assumed initially that choosing a career would mean the exclusion of conventional family relationships. But Sprague's dialogue with Mitchell convinced her that the constraints placed upon women's freedom in traditional patriarchal marriages, like that of her parents, need not accompany a more egalitarian relationship. Mitchell's selection of early childhood education as the focus of her professional life also ensured that the choice confronting many of her contemporaries—marriage or career—need not be dichotomous.

The extent to which Lucy Sprague Mitchell successfully unified these two spheres of her life deserves comment. A wealthy woman, Mitchell was able to purchase adjacent brownstone buildings in Greenwich Village. One housed her family; the new Bureau of Educational Experiments and the progressive elementary school, Carolyn Pratt's City and Country School, to which it was affiliated, filled the other. In 1919 Mitchell and Harriet Johnson also inaugurated the nation's first preschool (from infancy to three years), housed in the same complex. Mitchell could nurse her youngest child, teach or observe at the

preschool or the City and Country School, administer the bureau's other projects, and tend to the oldest children after school, all without leaving home. Clearly, then, in a physical sense, work and family were directly integrated in a unique way. But this was not all. Though busy with several jobs—professor of economics at Columbia University, instructor and cofounder of the New School for Social Research, and director and founder of the National Bureau of Economics Research—Wesley Mitchell found time to serve on numerous committees of the Bureau of Educational Experiments, oversee its finances and many of its research projects, and teach a carpentry class at the City and Country School. In every possible sense, then, Lucy's work was a family affair. Of course, the very subject of this work was children—more particularly, the study of how children grow mentally, emotionally, and physically, and how schools can stimulate their development and creativity. As she pointed out many times, her own experiences with her family thus helped her in her work, just as the insights developed through her teaching assisted her in her role as mother.

Lucy Mitchell's sensitivity to the problems of blending career and family is evidenced in numerous other ways. "When the children were young, Robin [her husband] and I put ourselves on a regular schedule so that one of us was practically always on hand to give the baths and supper," she wrote. And again:

> I learned to keep my hands busy most of the time. I carried my sewing with me everywhere, for I made nearly all of the children's clothes, even the little boy's suits, and darned all the stockings for four active children and Robin, who used two pairs of socks a day. I sewed steadily through all committee meetings and even invented a bag with a big wooden hoop, inside of which I could darn stockings on the subway unseen except by my near neighbors. I learned to do my writing in snatches and to scribble every free moment, even in the leisure of a ride in the subway or on top of the Fifth Avenue bus. As for years I was always up at six to nurse a baby or give a bottle of orange juice, I formed the habit of going to bed to write until the family breakfast at eight. And I planned my outside work so that much of it could be done at home.[16]

In their summer home in northern Vermont, where the Mitchells did most of their writing during a four-month academic holiday, the same careful attention to the competing interests of family and career was evidenced. Lucy Mitchell designed an unusual log cabin compound there, consisting of a nursery, kitchen–dining area, bedrooms, and studies, each housed in separate buildings, connected by covered walkways. Both individual and family space was integral to architectural design and shaped vacation activities.

To sum up, then, Lucy Mitchell, with the support and active participation of her husband, fabricated a life in which the interests of family and those of professional pursuits were carefully balanced. Her wealth, which allowed for servants and the creation of innovative housing arrangements, helped make the realization of this goal possible. "We tried to face the situation realistically," Mitchell wrote, "and to plan a practical pattern that would give us a genuine

group life as a family and also give a good life to each individual member—child or grownup."[17] About her marriage, she admitted: "Each of us had an imperious work drive. . . . The fact that we were both workers did prove to be . . . a bond in the life we built together. . . . Yet I cannot feel," she concluded, "that either of us ever subordinated human values to these drives."[18] It is on the basis of these well-considered attempts to bring unity to her private and public activities, as well as her own appraisal that she was successful in this effort, that Lucy Sprague Mitchell can be viewed as a role model for contemporary women struggling with similar problems. She was a feminist precisely because this kind of issue, and its resolution, was so central to her development and to her consciousness.

Some years ago, I expressed my view that Lucy Mitchell was a pioneer feminist who had productively brought together family and career interests to her youngest son, now affiliated with a research institute on the West Coast. Clearly I was surprised when this son—Lucy Mitchell's literary executor and the child to whom she was closest—wrote back cautioning me mildly against this interpretation: from the family's point of view, he warned, Lucy's mediation of private and public spheres was not especially successful.

Interviews with this son and his two brothers confirmed this sentiment: all three surviving children admired and respected their mother to varying degrees, yet at the same time strongly resented her work and her manner of child rearing.[19] The eldest son, who was adopted, was the most critical, attributing the various disappointments of his own life to his mother. Though he taught economics, this son was still struggling, at age sixty-five, to complete his Ph.D. He believed that his mother contributed to his lack of preparation because she had sent him as a child to the City and Country School, then one of the most progressive schools in the country, where creative expression was promoted strongly but where basic skills and rigorous habits of scholarship seemingly took second place. His mother's idealism and involvement in experimentation left him ill-equipped, so this son felt, to face the real world. The Mitchells' youngest son—the one most directly formed in the image of his parents—was much less inclined to blame his mother for the consequences of his schooling, commenting that perhaps his own abilities compensated for what experimental schools did not provide. Nevertheless, this son expressed other and perhaps equally deep-seated resentments.

First, while Lucy Mitchell felt that her work did not hurt the children and in fact helped her understand them better, the son complained that the children often felt like grist for her mill, guinea pigs in the laboratory of progressive education. The second problem relates to Mitchell's characteristic style of mothering. She was cerebral rather than spontaneous, remote rather than intimate. Her reactions were "not those of sudden tears to the eyes or goose pimples," this son told me. Though more changeable in her emotions and in certain respects less rigid than her husband, her relationship to her children was controlled. Both

Wesley and Lucy Mitchell in fact were rather formal with their children: Wesley preferred to be called "Father," never "Dad" or "Pop"; Lucy was "Mother." (The Mitchells were also formal with each other. The children recalled them dressing in evening clothes for their nightly dinner, for example, a custom that was typical of their social class.) For the warmth and spontaneity the children found lacking in their mother, they turned to Mollie, the family's Irish housekeeper, who was a significant nurturing force in their early lives. Lucy's two closest Bank Street associates, Harriet Johnson and Jessie Stanton, also showered the children with the kind of gentle affection that Lucy did not often show. Both women, who were single, spent a great deal of time with the Mitchells: Johnson adopted a daughter who was considered by everyone to be the Mitchells' "fifth child," since she was so often with the family; Jessie Stanton had an apartment in the Mitchells' Greenwich Village quarters.

The third issue cited by the Mitchells' eldest son concerned the tacit message the Mitchells emitted to their children, one that highlighted achievement as well as the values of integrity, honor, and independence. Neither parent ever directly interfered in a child's educational or vocational choice. As progressive educators, their impulse, to the contrary, was to encourage their children to make their own choices and to take responsibility for the consequences. Yet clearly the Mitchells put a premium on intellectual attainment. Even without verbal criticisms, it was easy for the children of such illustrious parents to feel limited in their own talents, character, and options. "Standing in the shadows of such tall columns," one son told me, made the children feel out of place, inadequate. "Somehow or other," he observed, "it was taken away from us to create our own world."

At least one of the Mitchell children believed his life to have been a failure. The daughter, an adopted child, also seemed to experience significant problems. She was a free spirit, independent and vivacious, who loved horses and spent her adult years on the rough-and-tumble midwestern horse show circuit. Some of her acquaintances felt that she was an unhappy, enigmatic woman, who never fit into the Mitchells' cerebral family circle although she did establish other close relationships. She developed a drinking problem, which apparently contributed to her death at age forty. The two other Mitchell children seem to have been more successful in their careers and personal lives generally. Nevertheless, even these children felt that their parents' remoteness, the unspoken pressure to excel, and other aspects of the Mitchells' life system exacted a heavy price.

This brief outline of the children's lives and attitudes toward their parents does not begin to do justice to the complexity of their (and any) family situation. Yet I think it raises some interesting questions about parenting generally and about two-career families particularly. How much of the Mitchell children's resentment toward their mother, for example, was a product of her career? Were their attitudes colored by the social context of the time, which did not approve of working mothers, as much as by the personal qualities of Mrs.

Mitchell—her character, personality, interaction with the children? Is there a warning signal being emitted here for women attempting to merge family and career?

Second, is it appropriate to consider the whole question of feminist lives, particularly the struggle to merge public with private demands, from the point of view of children's attitudes toward parents? How much of these attitudes reflect retrospective remembrances of grown children who recall the past from the vantage point of the present? How reliable can adult children be, furthermore, as reporters of their own childhoods and critics of their own necessarily ambivalent relationships with parents? Do children ever understand the limitations imposed upon parents by the parents' own socialization and childhood experiences? Is the capacity to parent thus in some way dependent upon the availability and quality of role models inherited from the past?

Finally, what does this question of parenting, and especially mothering, have to do with understanding the contours and contradictions of feminism? One point to be made at the outset is that all the Mitchell children were generally more critical of their mother than their father, despite the fact that they each conceded that he was the more remote and uninvolved. It was Lucy, not Wesley, who was there when there was a family crisis, whether of health, schooling, or career. She may not have responded the way the children wanted, in a direct, spontaneous, intimate way—for instance, she might have recommended a psychiatrist or vocational counseling rather than discuss the problem personally with the child—but it was she, not the children's father, who became involved and attempted to resolve the problem. That the children nevertheless resented their mother more than their father is a result, possibly, of the different temperamental qualities of each (Wesley Mitchell was a gentle, mild-mannered man, universally liked by colleagues, students, friends; Lucy could be autocratic, abrupt, and snobbish, though she rarely was with her closest associates); yet the children's attitudes might also reflect a double standard in the way mothers and fathers are judged.

In a similar vein, it is significant that the Mitchell children recall very little of their mother's actual presence in their lives, instead focusing on the neglect rather than the involvement. Sometimes the discrepancies appeared so major that I wondered if there were two different versions of family life: hers and theirs. For example, the children felt that the housekeeper took over most of the standard mothering functions. They were quite surprised when I told them that their mother sewed and knitted for them, stayed home with them when they were ill, took them to doctors and to lessons, met with teachers, and did all the many things that mothers do for growing children. Indeed, the Mitchell children seem to have shut out of their memories of the past many of those activities that demonstrated their mother's daily concern with their lives. In this respect, as in the double standard that I suggest might have influenced the children's evaluations of their parents, I believe that Lucy Mitchell's professional work was an important factor. Not only did she have a full-time career when

most mothers of school-age children did not, but it was a very notable career at that, and one that was ever-present. Though work problems were rarely discussed at home, job and home were closely connected in a physical sense; moreover, the children attended the school at which their mother taught. It is unfortunate if the children in later years wound up resenting their mother's work all the more because of this proximity; nevertheless, from Lucy Mitchell's own perspective the merger was successful. In any case, because less was expected of Wesley Mitchell as a father according to traditional standards, the outcome was that he was less resented. And Lucy Mitchell's solution to the problem of her absences from home—to bring in a permanent, reliable, and sympathetic housekeeper—also succeeded only too well. The children wound up deeply attached to Mollie, but possibly resented their mother even more. Mitchell's understanding of the requirements of the situation seems to have been right on target, but her solution to a certain extent backfired.

In examining the question of parent-child relations, the general problem of our perceptions of the past ought to be raised. Oral interviews, for example, can be problematic, particularly those with adults about their childhoods, since recollections of one's early years can often be colored by the filters of adult experience. For example, the Mitchell's oldest son, who described himself as a persistent failure, nevertheless admitted that his childhood was happy, carefree, rewarding. It was only as an adult, when he realized that he was not getting ahead in the world, that he became resentful towards his mother. (The field in which the son, in his own opinion, was so notably unsuccessful, I might add, was the very field in which his father had been a superstar: economics.) Furthermore, this son was sixty-five years of age when I interviewed him, not only a father of three sons but a grandfather. Might not his attitudes toward his childhood have reflected his interactions with his own children?

Being the offspring of distinguished, achieving parents is another issue relevant to an evaluation of the Mitchells' child rearing. Each of the Mitchells had not just a career but an illustrious one: each was a founder of an educational or research institution, served as its director, wrote many books and articles, became prominent not only locally but nationally and internationally. The children were well aware of their parents' eminence even though the Mitchells downplayed their achievements at home. Nevertheless, the children felt an unspoken, yet powerful, directive to succeed. With the parents caring so much for intellectual discourse, with their interests wrapped up in the cause of human betterment, how could the children not consider themselves failures when they chose very different occupations and developed different social and personal interests?

Finally, there is the related question of temperament, personality, or perhaps what Ellen Lagemann has termed "educative style," the way in which individuals engage in, move through, and combine experiences, the way in which they approach existence.[20] As intellectuals, Lucy and Wesley Mitchell were very much involved in the new currents of art, literature, and politics that circulated through Greenwich Village in the teens and twenties; they shared, too, a lifelong

interest in research in the social sciences. Every evening after the children had gone to bed, they would read aloud to each other from the works of poetry, philosophy, psychology, or economics that caught their attention. Theirs was not an ivory-tower intellectualism, however, as each was committed to applying the products of improved human reasoning to the organization of daily life: Wesley Mitchell through his work in economics, Lucy through hers in education. Each believed in the same means of accomplishing that end—the "scientific study of human beings and their behavior."[21] Nevertheless, in spite of their intense concern with the real world, the style of the Mitchell household was clearly a cerebral one in which learning and discussion dominated. Lucy Mitchell brought this intellectual approach to her mothering, much as she did to her marriage. This is not to say that she did not have her passionate and spontaneous side. But this was not the quality that came to the fore in her relationship with her children. It was the scientific, rationalist element in her personality that seemed to dominate that role. In her instruction of young children other than her own and of student teacher-trainees, the opposite was true: many Bank Street colleagues and former students testify to Mitchell's warmth, spontaneity, and extraordinary charisma as a teacher. However, she was more rigid, less spontaneous, less attentive to the emotions of her own children than to those of her students. Whether she was aware of this insufficiency, I am not sure, but perhaps she compensated by bringing to the family in the persons of Mollie and her friends Jessie Stanton and Harriet Johnson women who possessed in abundance those qualities she lacked.

The real question, it seems to me, is whether the lack of these traits made Lucy, to use a loaded term, a "bad mother." But, in fact, is there a good mother? Or are there simply different kinds of parents with different characteristics? Lucy was the sort of mother, for example, who would load the car down with maps and books for a cross-country trip to teach her children about geography and the natural environment. Her children might have resented this instruction, but would all children have felt the same? Are there not some individuals, mothered by the more nurturant, traditional types, who would have enjoyed and been stimulated by those qualities that Lucy Mitchell did in fact bring to her mothering? Rather than condemning Lucy Mitchell's mothering as inadequate, might we raise the possibility that what might have occurred within her family was a mismatch of personalities—a lack of congruity—between this mother and her various children? And beyond this, too, can a mother *ever* do the right things in her children's eyes?

The attitudes of the Mitchell children toward their parents were no doubt complicated by the fact that two of the four children were adopted. While all the children experienced varying degrees of unhappiness and stress during their lives, the two adopted children seemed to have fared the worst and were possibly the most resentful of their parents. These children were not made to feel different from the others in any way—the Mitchell children told me that all were treated exactly alike—even though the children at some point were told of the

adoptions. Nor am I raising the question of differing natural abilities among the children, though native predisposition to illness and stress do deserve consideration. More important, in the Mitchell household where the life system was an intellectual one and pressures to achieve were silent but great, the adopted children might have felt much less certain of their capabilities. The adopted children, too, might have been troubled by fantasies about their "true" identities. Both factors might have intensified the children's self-doubt, which influenced their behavior as well as their attitudes toward their parents.

Finally, then, what does this examination of the Mitchells as parents, and particularly of Lucy Mitchell as a mother, have to do with feminism? Should we even consider the quality of mothering as an aspect of feminist biography? To say of a subject—yes, her accomplishments in the world were great, but was she a good mother?—may not only be an irrelevant question, but one that runs the risk of turning the spotlight right back onto women's traditional sphere of domesticity, from which women like Lucy Sprague Mitchell struggled so hard to escape. As biographer Justin Kaplan has remarked, it is the work and career, the public manifestations of self, that is one way we distinguish major lives from lesser lives.[22] If feminist biographers attempt to take a multidimensional approach to correct the overly political and masculine bias of traditional history, do they not run the risk of setting unrealistic expectations, of wanting their subjects to achieve too much: to be great writers, businesswomen, artists, or professionals *and* great mothers, wives, or companions? Will we not find all women wanting if we peer too deeply into the crevices of private life as well as onto the public faces of achievement?

While Mitchell by all accounts was a highly creative and influential educator, she was not a particularly successful parent according to her children. I have tried to present some of the reasons they give for this judgment and to examine some of the sociological and psychological elements that came into play: the existence of Lucy Mitchell's larger-than-life career at a time when most women had none; the double, gender-linked standard of parenting; the pitfalls of retrospective interviewing; the problem of eminent families; the lack of temperamental compatibility between parents and children; the complicating factor, in this family, of adoption. In addition to these influences upon the children's appraisals of Lucy Mitchell's parenting, her mothering was affected by the parental pedagogy that shaped Mitchell's own temperament and in its inadequacy (or so at least she believed, for Mitchell, too, was critical of *her* parents) helped determine the nature of her later beliefs about child rearing.

Beyond this consideration of factors that influence parenting and children's perceptions of being parented, another question must be asked. How, indeed, is success in parenting to be measured? Must our children like us? Must they turn out to be successful, with happy marriages, achievement in work, and the like? Or should they perhaps be successful in a deeper way, as reflective, caring human beings, understanding of themselves and others? On the latter scale, it seems to me that the Mitchells did very well as parents. Perhaps a biographer's

objectivity is no more reliable than that of the autobiographer, but I found the Mitchell children to be remarkably thoughtful, with a deep understanding of self, with the same kind of integrity and honesty that they considered characteristic of their parents. Two out of the three children with whom I spoke at length seemed particularly gracious and charming, well-liked by colleagues and friends.

Certainly Lucy Sprague Mitchell had many shortcomings as a parent, but she seems to have been aware of these. Throughout her life she struggled to free herself of the restrictions she felt bound by, restrictions that derived in large part from her own unhappy experiences in childhood and that led her to turn to progressive education as a career in order to help other children develop their capacities for creativity and autonomy. In her unpublished autobiography she wrote:

> The four little Mitchells probably suffered and profited by my close connection with the world's successive ways of thinking about children. Probably, too, they suffered and profited through the memories of my own childhood and adolescent experiences. I might have been a more spontaneous mother if I had not been working so hard to find out what children were like, and how to fill their needs. I might have been a less experimental mother if I had not been constantly trying not to dominate my children's lives as father had dominated mine and trying to share with my children as mother had never shared with me.[23]

In the end, however, she could not entirely create her own world because of the legacy of the past. Ironically, in spite of her profession but in part because of it, her children made the same complaints about her parenting that she had made of her own parents. Lucy Mitchell's career turned out to be problematic, though it also had its advantages as far as her performance as a mother was concerned. Her work in education gave her insights into children she might not otherwise have had. While her children were not enthusiastic about her mothering, they might have been even less so had she been a full-time mother, without outside interests, fully and intently involved in their lives.

Finally, then, Lucy Sprague Mitchell was perhaps less successful as a mother than many other women have been in the same role. But given her personality, her past, her interests, and her ambitions, she was more successful than she might have expected to be. She had to struggle, it seems to me, to become a responsive parent, one who, unlike her own parents, did not dominate the lives of her children but shared in them. She did not succeed in this as she had hoped, but in the struggle, as in her efforts to develop a full professional life for herself, lies an indication of feminist goals. Children may grow up in disharmony with these goals, but the determination of mothers to try them, to invent new ways to manage them without relying on gender-stereotyped solutions, stands as a part of the feminist record.

6. Linnaeus's Daughters: Women and British Botany

Ann B. Shteir

Until very recently, histories of science have dealt almost exclusively with the contributions made by men. Concerning women and science, the historical and historiographical records now have begun to be revised by scholars who ask questions such as: where are the women in histories of the sciences? If there, why have they been so invisible to us? What forces, intrinsic and extrinsic to science, have encouraged and discouraged their participation?[1] This chapter discusses the place of women in the history of British botany during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2] My title bows to Shakespeare's sister as envisaged by Virginia Woolf and pays homage to feminist compensatory scholarship. It also points to a pattern of public contributions to botany, a pattern defined by family links and in particular filial status, which helped some daughters and wives of botanists pursue botanical interests in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries within the structures and conventions of British culture.

Natural history was a popular and fashionable hobby for many in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and women participated avidly in the study of conchological, entomological, and botanical subjects.[3] Female involvement in plant study was especially notable. Women collected plants, prepared herbaria, and submitted information to local flora societies. They collaborated on botanical projects as partners and correspondents, taught children about botany, drew plants, and wrote books about botany. Some would say that women participated so enthusiastically in plant study because women have an affinity to the vegetable kingdom. Certainly, the long-standing, ideologically tinged cultural associations between women and nature help to explain why commentators, male and female alike, considered botany an appropriate topic for women. Some writers declared that women were especially well suited for the detailed observational and descriptive work of botany. Others saw botany as offering a remedy for the harmful idleness of leisured women, much condemned at the time, and we find many references in magazines, book prefaces, and educational tracts to "improving the mind" and "refining the heart."

During the eighteenth century botanists sought to compile an inventory of nature and to develop systems for classifying and naming the vast variety of specimens in the plant kingdom.[4] Theoretical and practical problems of taxonomy and nomenclature were discussed across Europe, by Boerhaave in Leiden, Haller in Switzerland, Linnaeus in England and Holland—all men—and by their many correspondents. By the mid-eighteenth century, Linnaeus had proposed a taxonomy of plant families based on the reproductive parts of plants.

He proposed a simple way of naming plants as well. Linnaeus's sexual system of classification and his binomial nomenclature together became widely accepted, particularly in England. The method of Linnaean botany is simple: observe the number and position of stamens and pistils in a flower (the male and female parts respectively), look up its taxonomic place in a handbook, and find the short botanical name. This visual, empirical, and incremental work calls neither for theorizing nor for imaginative leaps. Eighteenth-century England witnessed a proliferation of texts that set out Linnaeus's ideas and applied his system to British plants.[5] Many introductory texts were written to acquaint general readers with plant study, first with the Linnaean system, and then, in the nineteenth century, with the classificatory scheme that replaced Linnaeus's. The ease of Linnaean botany helped to make plant study an enormously popular amateur activity from 1750 on. Amateurs, as well as those formally trained in medicine, made significant contributions to botany, indeed to the life sciences generally, during the eighteenth century.[6] The distinction between amateur and professional botanists solidified only by about the mid-nineteenth century.

Examining how scientific knowledge spread and how various groups and individuals participated in science reveals women's roles in the scientific community. A typology proposed for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, based on prosopographical analysis, distinguishes three levels within the British scientific community: (1) those who published a scientific paper, book, or pamphlet; (2) those who had close association with a scientific institution or taught science; and (3) those "cultivators of science" who "patronized, applied, or disseminated scientific knowledge or principles, but who themselves neither published science, taught science, nor actively associated themselves with scientifically oriented institutions."[7] This typology is pertinent to the participation of women in British botany during the period under discussion here. No substantial taxonomic achievement by a woman reached publication, nor did women have pride of place in the formative scientific institutions. Although there are famous examples of women teaching botany and doing research in botany at the turn of the twentieth century (e.g., Marie Stopes), women were not admitted to the leading scientific societies until 1919, in the case of the Linnaean Society, and 1946, in the case of the Royal Society. David E. Allen's fascinating account of the Botanical Society of London has acquainted us with a group of social, political, and scientific outsiders who, in the climate of reform of the 1830s, deliberately sought out women members as part of a general policy of nonexclusiveness.[8] Perhaps there were other local botanical groups, like this one and the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, that offered women opportunities to use reference collections, exchange specimens, and present papers. But the major institutions of British botany seem to have feared feminine connotations and were rigorous in their exclusion of women from full and equal membership.

Social convention and an emergent scientific establishment made it unlikely that women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would be able to contribute to the science of botany through publication and institutional high profile,

the ways by which our histories have gauged achievement. Although my source for the typology cited above refers only to men, women abounded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as cultivators of science. They stimulated an interest in exploring nature, enlarged the data base, and spread botanical knowledge. As enthusiastic participants, they encouraged book publication. As writers themselves and as teachers of women and children, they played a seminal part in popularizing plant study.

Among those female cultivators of botany whose work became public, there is a pattern of contributions made by daughters, and, to a lesser extent, by wives of botanists. Biographical work on early female botanists reveals elaborate kinship networks within the botanical, indeed the natural history, community.[9] It is not surprising that many women who are on record for their botanical work were relatives of men who also figure in that record. We know that kin often served as references, role models, companions, and patrons for each other. Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin showed the importance of the father-daughter pattern for art history, declaring that "most women artists before the nineteenth century were the daughters of artists, . . . [and] were trained by their fathers, or by their husbands or some other male relative."[10] Although not all botanical work calls for the degree of expertise demanded of a painter, relationship to a male botanist no doubt eased the way for some female botanical enthusiasts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by giving them access to informal or formal instruction, to physical resources, and to professional contacts. These sorts of resources, advantageous at any time, would have been especially important for the period before botany was institutionalized as a school subject or established as a university degree program.

Among the first of "Linnaeus's daughters" was Linnaeus's own. The *Transactions* of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences carried a short report in 1762 on an electrical or phosphorescent effect that nasturtiums give off at dusk.[11] The report, consisting of empirical description and a few conjectures but no conclusions, was submitted by the nineteen-year-old Elisabeth Christina Linnea, eldest daughter of the famous botanist. He had taught her about botany, and she is said to have written several botanical essays.[12] In the case of the 1762 piece, Elisabeth Linnea reported that she made her observations in her father's garden and that "Papa" encouraged her to write them up. Papa, or the fact of Papa, may also have paved the way for publication of her findings.

The father of Anna Blackburne (1726–93) enabled her to be part of eighteenth-century scientific networks.[13] She shared his keen interest in botany and ornithology, and through him came to know the important naturalists Johann Reinhold Forster and Thomas Pennant. When she began corresponding with Linnaeus in later years, he already knew about her botanical expertise. Anna Blackburne turned family enthusiasms and status to fruitful purpose; she contributed to botany in her period by zealously transmitting information and collecting and trading botanical specimens.

Botanical drawing was a welcome way for daughters of botanists to assist and

to display their talents. It was an accomplishment with the patina of science, and women of elevated social class or with social aspirations received instruction in botanical illustration beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. Women have painted flowers for both decorative and scientific purposes since then, with substantial female contributions to botanical periodicals and monographs throughout the nineteenth century and into our day. One daughter of note in this area was Ann Lee (1753–90), a botanical artist of accuracy and accomplishment. In 1775 her father, James Lee, well-known nurseryman and author of a major work that popularized the Linnaean system (*Introduction to Botany . . . Extracted from the Works of Dr. Linnaeus*, 1760), sent Linnaeus a drawing of a plant by Ann with the suggestion that the plant be named for Anna Blackburne.[14] Inspired by her father's love of plants, Ann Lee became one of five artists, "all acknowledged as among the finest botanical illustrators of their day," employed by Dr. John Fothergill to paint flowers in his famous collection.[15] None of her drawings has ever been published, however, perhaps because illustrated botanical magazines, monographs and handbooks were just getting underway during her rather brief lifetime.

William Curtis founded the *Botanical Magazine* in 1787, and it was the main journal during the nineteenth century to feature work by female illustrators. Drawings by Anne Henslow Barnard (1825–99) appeared there late in that century. Daughter of J. S. Henslow, professor of botany at Cambridge, she "inherited in no small degree her father's taste for botany, . . . [and] was a very good botanical artist."[16] Her skill also was shown in illustrations to D. Oliver's *Lessons in Elementary Botany* (1864), a popular introduction to systematic botany.

Daughters of botanists were active as authors as well as collectors and illustrators. Consider the work of Mary Roberts (1788–1864), writer of many books on natural history, including *The Wonders of the Vegetable Kingdom* (1822). Daughter, granddaughter, and sister of a botanist, she acquired her love of nature from both her immediate family and her Quaker heritage. While father and brother submitted botanical material to William Withering's *Systematic Arrangement of British Plants* (1818), she chose a literary approach. In her thirties Mary Roberts began to publish books on botany and conchology, largely for younger readers, which combined science, morals, and theology.

Wives of botanists generally contributed to the early history of botany by assisting their husbands. Maria Hooker (1797–1872), daughter of Dawson Turner, author of a famous work on seaweed, and wife of Sir W. J. Hooker, a director of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew, served for fifty years "as her husband's helpmeet and amanuensis, and to her the successive series of the *Journal of Botany*, the *Botanical Miscellany* and other of Sir William's publications, owe much of their literary style and typographical accuracy."[17] The wife of Sir James E. Smith served a similar editorial function. Smith brought Linnaeus's papers and collections to England in 1784 and founded the Linnaean Society in 1788; as a result, he dominated British botany until his death in 1828.

Pleasance Smith (1773–1877), active during her husband's life as his "constant fellow-worker," appears to have dedicated her widowhood to perpetuating his memory, by editing first his memoirs and then his nineteen-volume scientific correspondence.[18] Jane Loudon (1807–58) was travel companion and "sole amanuensis" to her husband, J. C. Loudon, prolific horticultural writer and founder of the *Gardener's Magazine* and the *Magazine of Natural History*. At a point when family finances were strained, she began to write successful botanical books and later wrote horticultural books and magazines for a general audience.[19]

Wives served as institutional, financial, and technical helpmeets. Charles Abbot's *Flora Bedfordiensis* (1798), a list and description of wild plants of that country along Linnaean lines, was designed "for the amusement and instruction of 'the fair daughters of Albion.'" In the preface to the book Abbot praised the female contribution to botany in his day and acknowledged the "constant superintending care of a fair Associate" toward the plants in his own garden. "To the same amiable and interesting partner of his pursuits and labours," the author continued, "he is also indebted for the preparation of a *Herbarium*. . . . But this is only one of the innumerable obligations, for which he is proud to acknowledge himself indebted to her assiduity and attachment."[20] The "fair Associate" was Abbot's wife, but he neither recorded her name in the preface nor placed it on the title page of the book. Interestingly, it may have been she rather than he who demurred at female celebrity, for Abbot is said to have been "persistent in his demands" to editors that she be given credit for her part in botanical projects.[21]

The kinship patterns I have traced so far show a dominant male with prior expertise and a daughter or wife who received encouragement from, or provided assistance to, her father or husband or their surrogates. But of course not all women who made public contributions to botany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were only daughters or wives of botanists. Mothers too, not surprisingly, find their place on the historical tableau as sources of expertise and encouragement. For example, the career of George Bentham, writer on botany and president of the Linnaean Society from 1861 to 1874, "seems to have been largely due to his mother," Lady Mary Bentham (c. 1765–1858), who had a herbarium and was said to have been a very good botanist.[22] In the botany books for young people that began to appear at the end of the eighteenth century, the teachers were maternal figures. In this genre, conventionally a dialogue, a mother or a mother-substitute (e.g., maiden aunt or governess) explained Linnaean or post-Linnaean ideas in simplified form, often using botany to give moral and spiritual lessons. Many of these books were written by women. Priscilla Wakefield's *An Introduction to Botany* (1796) was among the earliest books of this type, and it went through eleven editions by 1841. Such texts played a key part in popularizing plant science during the early nineteenth century. Women found an occupational opportunity as authors in supplying books and magazine articles for the new market of specialized natural history publishing at this time.

Lastly, defining teacher as mother in an extended sense, we find that Sir Joseph Banks, a figure of major importance in British botany during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, first learned his botany as a young pupil at Eton in the late 1750s from the women in the area who "culled simples" for the shops of druggists and apothecaries.[23] He fostered the craving for exotica through his own botanical voyages, owned a house and library that were a mecca for naturalists, and was botanical director at Kew Gardens from 1772 to 1820. The role of women in his botanical education reminds us of the connection between women and the herbal tradition. Interest in plants before the eighteenth century had been largely culinary and medicinal. In the eighteenth century that tradition was superseded by a different kind of botanical impulse. Despite leisured women who followed the new pattern of systematic plant study, and despite an urbanized middle class that was fast losing its familiarity with traditional healing practices, the knowledge of herbal remedies flourished to some degree in eighteenth-century England, at least among country women.[24]

The path to botany for Linnaeus's daughters was not without its stones and fences, and the impediments are at least as interesting as their botanical accomplishments. To begin with, geographical and physical barriers placed sizable constraints upon women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Male botanists made grand treks to alpine or exotic parts in search of new and rare specimens to enlarge empirical knowledge and to satisfy the collector's hunger. The stunning exception was Jeanne Baré, who, in male disguise, went on Bougainville's voyage around the world in 1767–77 and was reported to be an excellent botanist.[25] But examples of British women traveling solo in quest of plants did not appear until the late Victorian era. Marianne North (1830–90) pioneered alone on a journey through the tropics and around the globe in the years 1869–85 to paint the world's flora.[26] Most women with botanical interests seldom were able to translate curiosity into travel beyond the local terrain of garden, woods, or seashore; the exceptions were women who studied botany in colonial outposts. Social and familial constraints also restricted full female participation in botany. Although being related to botanists often helped, it could hinder also, as in the case of Lady Harriet Thistleton-Dyer (1854–1945), who supplied many drawings for the *Botanical Magazine* during the late 1870s. She is said to have wished for a career as a botanical artist, but this was precluded by her duties as the daughter of Sir J. D. Hooker, director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, and as the wife of his successor.[27]

Two other problems were ideological. According to some commentators, botany was a field of study in which women might teeter toward learnedness. Linnaeus himself balked at his daughters becoming learned and even at such accomplishments as their competence in the French language; nevertheless, botany was acceptable to him as a female activity.[28] Others, however, voiced reservations. The fear of female learnedness, a substantial theme in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thought, no doubt acted as a curb to women's possibilities at this time and restricted women to less intellectually taxing parts of

botanical science. Another dilemma for those who would exhort women to plant study was that the Linnaean scheme was based on plant sexuality. While the sexual nature of plants was much debated on conceptual grounds in the eighteenth century, reaction to Linnaeus's ideas was also affected by his anthropomorphic and occasionally lascivious descriptions of plant reproduction. Richard Polwhele used Linnaean plant sexuality to attack Mary Wollstonecraft and various literary women in his poem "The Unsex'd Females" (1798), equating their interest in botany with libertinism and freethinking French republican tendencies, which he condemned.[29] Given plant sexuality and the tides of taste, many writers of botany texts for women bowdlerized their material in ways that are hilarious and revealing to modern and feminist sensibilities. For example, in *A Poetical Introduction to the Study of Botany* (1801), Frances Arabella Rowden intended to draw upon Erasmus Darwin's verse explication of Linnaeus in *The Botanic Garden* (1791). Finding the language of his robust descriptions "frequently too luxuriant for the simplicity of female education," however, she reworked Darwin's poem, changing his references to brides and connubial bliss into references to maternal love and suppression of sexual feeling.[30]

It is not difficult to argue that botanical study for women in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served, and in some quarters was intended to serve, as a form of social control, substituting innocuous activities and attitudes for others more threatening to conventional views of womankind. Here I have been discussing contributions made by women to British botany through the conventions or in spite of the conventions. For some women at that time plant study was a socially acceptable diversion that could easily be put aside; but for others, it served as mental refuge, as spiritual engagement, or as a much-needed way to earn money. For still others, botany was a serious activity in its own right, through which they could contribute to scientific knowledge; some of these women might have chosen to be professionals if scientific and educational circumstances in the nineteenth century had been more welcoming. Kinship helped some of Linnaeus's daughters. In particular, biological links through father (or mother) and quasi-biological links through husband supplied a setting that could encourage interests and ease the route from private activity to public expression. A female perspective on the history of British botany shows that there were many female cultivators of the science during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This perspective leads me to suggest that the history of British botany should acknowledge its female part. A broadened history would include women's contributions at the margins of what we now consider science (for example, popularizations) and also the cultural and ideological contexts of women's study of nature.

7. The Holy Woman and the Urban Community in Sixteenth-century Avila

Jodi Bilinkoff

In traditional Spanish society, a religious vocation provided some women with alternatives to their common lot, subordination to father or husband, while maintaining a respectable position in society. Abbesses, especially if they administered large and wealthy houses, might attain a degree of prominence unique for their sex.[1]

Apart from the monastic alternative, there existed a tradition of autonomous religious women who claimed direct "gifts of the spirit," which enabled them to preach, teach, prophesy the future, or beseech God on behalf of suppliants. These *beatas*, or charismatic holy women, attracted large followings in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain and occasionally brought down the wrath of official churchmen when suspected of involvement in heterodox religious movements.[2]

This chapter explores the experience of one *beata*, a woman named Mari Díaz, who lived in the city of Avila in the mid-sixteenth century. Her piety and humility made her the most popular religious figure of her day and an important model for contemporaries, including the future Saint Teresa of Avila. Through "the authority of holiness," Mari Díaz was able to move beyond the bounds of class and gender established by her society.[3] She was able to mediate differences between social groups within the city and lend critical support to current religious reform movements that emphasized apostolic service to the urban community as a whole. The case of Mari Díaz thus sheds light on gifted women in early modern Spain and their role in effecting social and religious change.

In order to understand the role of the *beata* in Avila's urban community and her contribution to religious reform movements of the mid-sixteenth century, it is important to recognize the character of social and religious life in the city up to this period. In the Middle Ages, Avila existed as a frontier fortress-city. Located on strategic mountain passes between the Duero and Tajo valleys, it was the site of fierce and continual warfare between Christians and Muslims during Spain's centuries-long Reconquista. The Christians finally gained definitive control of the region in 1083 and began to repopulate the city. The city's cathedral and its famous, massive walls date from the early twelfth century.[4] In this "society organized for war,"[5] military strength and prowess were set at a premium. A class of noble warriors quickly came to dominate residents dependent upon them for protection. The city was known as Avila de los Caballeros, Avila of the Knights.

By the end of the fifteenth century, during a period of relative political stability and economic prosperity, descendants of these knights, and of men more recently enobled through service to the Castilian crown, strove to consolidate their hold on the city's political institutions. Aristocrats controlled Avila's city council, possessing public offices for life and then bequeathing them to sons or nephews. Municipal documents record how members of certain families held positions in city government for four or five consecutive generations, as elites sought power and influence for themselves and their heirs.[6]

The concern of the elite class with power and influence was reflected in their control of many features of the city's religious life as well. Between 1450 and 1510, members of Avila's upper-class families established or restored monasteries, convents, and churches, and actively endowed *capellanías*, or chaplaincies. This institution perhaps best illustrates the noble donors' concern for dynastic consolidation and continuity. Typically, a patron would donate an annual income to a religious house or church in exchange for burial in a particular chapel. He would mandate prayers for his soul and for those of his heirs in perpetuity, and often for his parents as well. In the case of doña María de Herrera's 1512 endowment at the chapel of Mosén Rubí, financial support was contingent upon moving remains from one location to another.[7] By 1623 don Diego de Guzmán asserted the right not only to bury members of his family at the new Jesuit college of San Ignacio but also to disinter the bodies already there![8]

The regular and secular clergy of Avila's religious institutions, especially its monastic houses, practiced a style of spirituality appropriate to the dynastic concerns of their benefactors and of the class from which, in fact, most monks and nuns derived. Anniversary masses and other commemorative and intercessionary prayers chanted for the souls of patrons, their kin, and their clients made up a considerable portion of the liturgical program and reinforced the traditional values of honor and patronage by which a land-based aristocracy ordered urban life.

In the decades between 1510 and 1550, Avila experienced remarkable growth and development. Its population of under ten thousand in 1530 reached fifteen thousand by 1561.[9] Economic expansion, especially in the flourishing Castilian wool trade, attracted migrants of all different social ranks. Noble landowners left their estates in the care of stewards and moved to the city, constructing elegant urban *palacios* within Avila's walls. Outlying poor and artisanal neighborhoods swelled with incoming rural dwellers, who sought opportunities in the textile and leather trades, obtained positions as domestic servants to the rich, or struggled as beggars, thieves, or prostitutes. By the late 1550s, Avila's city councillors banned further construction on one of the city's two main marketplaces, the Mercado Chico, claiming that it was already so crowded that "gentlemen cannot turn their horses."[10]

Urban growth brought urban problems. The sheer concentration of people often stretched the city's resources to the limit. Food, water, and shelter were often in short supply, especially for the poor. These problems in turn strained

already existing tensions between social groups within the city. Because the city's poor and artisans were often frustrated in their expectations of material gain, they occasionally resorted to vocal or even violent forms of protest, much feared by local elites.[11] As early as 1502, the royal official Antonio Pérez noted the resentments that arose from the unequal distribution of power in a city in which a small social elite dominated municipal administration. He recommended that the citizens of Avila assemble each year to elect two representatives, one for the nobles and one for the mass of tax-paying commoners, a policy he felt would avoid "muchas discordias."[12] Demographic expansion and urban development thus brought noteworthy changes to Avila in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In this period, the spiritual climate within Avila underwent important changes as well. Religious reform movements, originating outside as well as inside the city, addressed personal and social problems brought into focus by accelerated urban growth. Traditional piety consisted of providing sufficient endowments for a decorous and numerous clergy, which prayed continuously for the souls of departed benefactors and their clients.[13] This system satisfied the spiritual, economic, and dynastic needs of a hereditary aristocracy. Beginning in the 1540s, however, new religious movements articulated a definition of reform that emphasized the importance of a personal experience of conversion and penitence, and reflected the concern of many to relieve the condition of the poor. The programs initiated in Avila by the followers of Juan de Avila and the Society of Jesus featured trained, virtuous, and committed priests, who would serve a community of believers through education, poor relief, preaching, and spiritual direction.[14]

Parallel to these developments, a form of spirituality emerged that stressed the practice of extreme asceticism and the reception of a direct experience of God. This trend was represented by the holy woman Mari Díaz. Ultimately, she would become closely involved with the clerical reformers of her time and lend spiritual prestige to their apostolic programs. Through her holy example and talent as advisor, consoler, and mediator of conflicts, she too succeeded in serving the urban community.

Mari Díaz was born to prosperous peasants (*labradores*) in the village of Vita, in the province of Avila, probably around 1490. Like many other rural dwellers, she moved to Avila in the 1530s, when she was about forty years old. In this case, the immigrant moved to the city, not in search of work in the wool trade but "because she had heard it said that there were sermons in the city of Avila."[15] The city, with its many parishes and monastic houses, its festivals and fairs, and wealthy people increasingly urged to give alms, offered a wide range of support for those who chose a religious vocation. In a rural setting in which all hands were needed for labor-intensive agriculture, Mari Díaz's desire to spend long hours at church and in the distribution of alms was strongly resented, especially (and understandably) by her family. Significantly, the move to Avila and her escape from a life of marriage, children, and agricultural toil occurred after the death of her parents.

Mari Díaz lived at first in the working district of las Vacas, well-populated by newcomers from the country. She quickly gained recognition for her life of extreme austerity and prayer. She had made a vow of chastity back in the village, which her parents had opposed by engaging her to a young man. She had, however, scared off the suitor and retained her commitment to serve God alone. Once in Avila, she vowed also to live in complete poverty, giving her few possessions to the needy around her.

By the mid-sixteenth century, it was common for neighborhoods in cities and towns to contain individual women or groups of women who chose an informal religious vocation as *beatas*. These women frequently prayed together, attended church services together, or engaged in charitable activities. A 1561 survey of households in Avila records several instances of *beatas* who lived with their families in various neighborhoods of the city, and studies corroborate these findings for other areas of Spain.[16]

Mari Díaz, however, distinguished herself by the extent and intensity of her asceticism and devotion. The neighborhood women (*vecinas*) of las Vacas noticed how she once spent six consecutive hours at church, and another time became so engrossed in prayer that she let her chickens fly away. They marveled at her fervent but undisciplined piety. Mari Díaz sought spiritual directors, as one writer claimed, "exhausting several monasteries with her pleas that they confess her."[17] The foundation of a Jesuit college in Avila in 1553 changed her life. The enthusiastic Jesuits of the College of San Gil, committed to developing programs of systematic prayer and mortification, and indifferent to the social status and potential for donations of their penitents, agreed to direct the holy woman.[18] On the orders of her confessors, she went to live at the palace of the pious widow doña Guiomar de Ulloa.

Here her humility was put to the test. Taken from her poor but free and respected life in the neighborhood, she now worked, like many rural immigrants, as a domestic servant. Doña Guiomar's employees, probably without the knowledge of their mistress, taunted and tormented the aging woman. But her six-year stay at this house, across from the College of San Gil, had several important consequences. Through doña Guiomar, the holy life and edifying words of Mari Díaz became known to members of Avila's aristocracy. Her neighborhood reputation grew to citywide recognition and respect.

In 1564 or 1565, the devout Bishop Alvaro de Mendoza gave Mari Díaz permission to mortify herself further by moving from the house of doña Guiomar to a side chamber of the church of San Millán. She lived there until her death in 1572. Her decision to remain cloistered in a tiny room, subsisting on one meal a day, wearing rags, sleeping on a board with a stone for a pillow, and spending hours in prayer before the Holy Sacrament recalls the heroic asceticism of the stylite saints and desert hermits of late antiquity. In fact, she was sometimes referred to as *varonil*, or manlike.[19] The early Christian monks built a city in the desert, and Mari Díaz, by living like a hermit in a church located right off Avila's main marketplace, succeeded in bringing the desert to the city. Her presence sacralized this corner of worldly bustle and activity.

The *beata* played an integral part in the city's social life. "Mother" Mari Díaz interacted with the people who continually came to talk with her, offering words of consolation, homely advice, and spiritual counsel, settling disputes, and interceding for her suppliants with her prayers. A villager who had come to the city, a woman hostile to the vanities of dress and good looks, an old person who involved herself in the problems of the young, and a peasant who had lived in the palace of an aristocrat, Mari Díaz occupied a social category all her own, sexless, ageless, and classless. Like the stylite saints so brilliantly described by Peter Brown, she represented "objectivity personified." Her success in expressing a generalized, urban spirituality lay in her ability to reconcile disparate elements of the city's population.

Mari Díaz could not exercise the forms of spiritual leadership open to men. She could not preach, celebrate mass, or absolve sins. She could, however, set an example, expressing in a less formal way the virtues of penitence and mortification emphasized by the Jesuits. Not surprisingly, many held the holy woman, with her piety, patience, and humility, as a model for female behavior. Interestingly, she also influenced male behavior, in particular, male clerical behavior, which in this period was undergoing careful scrutiny and redefinition. Mari Díaz helped the young Jesuit Baltasar Alvarez upon his arrival in Avila by her lofty example and her many connections. "For what she did," noted his biographer Luis de la Puente in a revealing passage, "he came to be well-known and esteemed by all in the city."[20] She influenced the important cleric Julián de Avila as well, whose family she had known since her early days in las Vacas.

During her period of cloister at San Millán, Mari Díaz, although well-advanced in years, maintained a special relationship with young people. For example, she taught the city's children their basic prayers. Years after her death, many of Avila's priests would recall the uplifting conversations they had had with Mari Díaz during their years as seminarians. She also gathered around her a group of young women, who came to the *beata* for their moral education, and formed the core of a network of female spiritual support and communication that spanned two generations. Ana Reyes, whose parents brought her to Mari Díaz so that she might learn virtue at "such a good school," eventually enjoyed popularity as a holy woman in the 1590s and in the early years of the seventeenth century.[21]

Mari Díaz's ability to talk to the young aided her in mediating conflicts between generations, a problem to which her own experiences had made her particularly sensitive. Fray Luis Pacheco, who entered the Premonstratensian house of Sanctus Spiritus in his early twenties, almost immediately began to suffer the doubts and temptations common to young clerics unsure in their calling. He left the monastery before the end of the first year of his novitiate. His father at first would not let him back into the house. Finally, the older man appealed to the Mother Mari Díaz, to whom he was much devoted. Fray Luis went to the small room at San Millán and discussed his problems with the venerable old woman. He resolved to return to the monastery; he became a respected preacher and spent the rest of his life there.[22]

Like the Jesuits of San Gil, Mari Díaz served and taught "all the estates in Avila . . . from the great lords and prelates and ladies, down to the most humble."[23] Her life of radical austerity and enclosure, at a time of genuine scarcity of food, space, and shelter, identified her with the poor and homeless who had flocked to Avila during the course of the sixteenth century. But the simple peasant and neighborhood holy woman also became the object of devotion for many, including members of the city's highest aristocracy, especially noblewomen. The need of elite women for consolation and reassurance in their world of closely observed etiquette, petty intrigues, and frequent deaths of husbands and children was apparently boundless, as Saint Teresa would discover. Disinterested, otherworldly ascetic on the one hand, and sympathetic "City Mother" on the other, Mari Díaz was ably suited to play confidante to aristocratic women. At first the *beata* would leave her room to visit the city's "principal ladies." When her confessor ordered her to remain cloistered at San Millán, the ladies complained of his rigor, but left their homes to visit her there. Her high-born devotees saw to it that she never lacked food.

The death of Mari Díaz in November 1572 unified the residents of Avila, usually so divided by social status and geographical location. Although she died in total poverty, the holy woman received one of the biggest and grandest funerals anyone in Avila could remember. The city council held a special session in which the councillors hailed her as a woman "so Christian and exemplary," and ordered that she be embalmed and buried in the church where she had lived with Christ as her "neighbor."[24] Individual gentlemen donated the wax, casket, and ornaments. In a truly startling moment of fervor, the members of the cathedral chapter agreed to perform an elaborate funeral service completely free of charge.[25] Huge crowds of people from all segments of the city's population attended the nine days of services and sermons, and literally stormed the burial in an attempt to grab a piece of her clothing or body as a relic. She was popularly acclaimed a saint.

Thus, even in death, Mother Mari Díaz provided the focus for a community-wide urban spirituality, which emphasized service, charity, and Christian education, and downplayed the stratification of the city along class lines. These qualities had attracted the circle of clerical reformers in Avila, led by the popular preacher Gaspar Daza, and involved the *beata* in programs for sacerdotal reform.

In 1568 the trio consisting of Daza, Julián de Avila, and Mari Díaz had approached the bishop of Avila with a plan. They proposed converting part of the building complex at San Millán to a seminary for the training of the bishopric's priests, as mandated by the recently ended Council of Trent. The bishop, don Alvaro de Mendoza, whose personal devotion to Mari Díaz may have stemmed from that of his sister doña María, enthusiastically supported the project and directed certain ecclesiastical benefices in the bishopric of Avila for this purpose. By 1572, although still awaiting papal approval, the Seminary of San Millán operated with a rector and six poor boys.[26]

For Gaspar Daza and Julián de Avila this signified the culmination of an apostolic program. The two longtime friends and colleagues formed a mission-

ary team, traveling to villages in the diocese of Avila, where Daza would preach and Julián de Avila would hear confessions. The two priests probably conceived the Seminary of San Millán,[27] but in order for their project to succeed, they needed the prestige, popular appeal, and connections with the city's aristocracy that only their illiterate penitent, Mari Díaz, could provide. And the *beata*, visited so frequently by the city's principal ladies, probably possessed more effective means of communicating the goals of the San Millán project to the noble families of Avila than either Gaspar Daza at the pulpit or Julián de Avila in the confessional. Because she had distinguished the church as the site of direct religious experience, and because of her identification with youth, education, and clerical instruction, her involvement added legitimacy to an enterprise precisely designed to further these ends. As a mystic and as a woman, Mari Díaz played a fundamental role in the creation of the first Tridentine seminary in Avila, one of the first in all of Spain.

Religious women helped to define the urban community in early modern Avila. Aristocratic nuns perpetuated a traditional view of the city as an amalgam of separate classes and clans, where social values were passed on through the family, through hereditary privilege, and through the bonds of patronage and clientage. Their spirituality, based upon continuous vocal prayer for departed patrons and kin, expressed the prevailing concern for family honor and continuity as clearly as the coats of arms carved upon the convent's walls.

Changing social realities, however, created an alternative vision of urban life. The holy woman Mari Díaz figured as a principal exponent of the city as a community of believers. Her ascetic way of life identified her with Avila's poor. Her unfailing faith in God's presence and providence, and her reception of direct religious experience perfectly equipped her to intercede on behalf of the residents of the city. Mari Díaz lent her prestige and influence to a dynamic new ministry, which subscribed to this view of the community and dedicated itself to serving its members. She propounded the belief that social and moral values could be spread through education, through works of charity, and through the sermons for which she had originally left the countryside.

For Mari Díaz, a religious vocation offered the means by which an obscure and illiterate peasant woman could transcend the bounds of class and gender imposed by traditional Spanish society. As charismatic holy woman, she became a symbol of the changing urban community in sixteenth-century Avila.

III. Eroding the Structure

Introduction

The chapters in this section by Sandra McGee, Françoise Ducrocq, Joan Brumberg, and Jean Humez analyze the experiences of female religious and political activists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They all drew on existing religious and moral definitions of womanhood to justify the adoption of radically new roles for themselves. They claimed that it was necessary to move outside the home to preserve the family, to enter the masculine sphere to defend femininity, to go beyond the male church to serve a demanding god.

All these women reinterpreted and reformulated the models of femininity they ostensibly accepted. Ducrocq's biblewomen and lady visitors had little use for the fragile and helpless woman idealized in so much Victorian prescriptive literature and fiction and held up as a norm for their gender. Even more strikingly, McGee's conservative Argentinian women entered the archetypal male preserve of politics in order to assist the preservation of the status quo. Ducrocq's and Brumberg's religious activists rejected their subordination to male organizations and founded their own societies so they could control their own finances and agenda. Humez's visionaries engaged in the most radical redefinition of all. Like Sojourner Truth, they had to reject the bonds of race and class as well as sex to pursue vocations depending on spiritual gifts widely recognized as giving their recipients the authority to transcend ordinary social hierarchies.

Significantly, all of the women in these essays depended on religious structures to validate their activities outside the home. Christian churches had always proclaimed the spiritual equality of the sexes and acknowledged the possibility that female prophets and visionaries might serve as channels of grace from God to man. Like Mari Díaz, who lived in sixteenth-century Spain, the black American evangelists discussed by Humez depended on this tradition to validate their religious vocations. In nineteenth-century England and America, the subjects of Ducrocq's and Brumberg's papers justified their religious philanthropy by appealing to the widely accepted belief that women were morally superior to men and had particular responsibility for furthering the ethical and spiritual goals of the church. Similarly, in Argentina, McGee's women drew on the tradition of social activism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Catholicism to establish an organizational base for their contributions to conservative politics.

Another common theme in these chapters is the determination of female activists to form links to other women across class and racial barriers. In contexts where men traditionally thought in terms of conflict, they sought reconciliation with their sisters. Ducrocq's and McGee's middle- and upper-class women used educational and charitable schemes to introduce lower-class women to their ideal of femininity. Brumberg's women, active in the American Protestant missionary movement, tried to reach across national frontiers to save their

oppressed sisters in cultures they perceived as heathen and exotic. Despite the obvious complacency of their conviction that they knew what less fortunate women required, both religious and political activists generally concluded quite sensibly that poor women primarily needed material relief and broader educational opportunities. Ducrocq and Humez show some of the positive effects of their efforts. Humez's visionaries drew on the financial resources of white evangelical women to pursue their vocations. In return, they contributed to the spiritual development of the white sisters in their audiences both as African Methodists and, in some cases, as leaders in the predominantly white Holiness movement. The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission not only provided spiritual and material aid to the recipients of their charity, but also opened new careers to the working-class women they trained and employed as home visitors. What none of these female activists did was to question whether or not their programs reinforced the oppressive social structure they sought to ameliorate.

The women discussed in part one of this book were too isolated and too oppressed to form effective female networks. The women in part two had networks of family and friends, but did not use them to increase their power or expand their roles, except in the case of Mari Díaz and her supporters. But the subjects of part three consciously organized extensive networks to educate themselves and their sisters as women for purposes that women defined. Although their sanctimonious attitudes, culture-bound smugness, and unconscious racism often embarrass us, they did recognize the common bonds of womanhood and attempted to transcend the social categories which separated them one from another. In doing so, they won greater autonomy and broader spheres of action both for themselves and for other women.

8. Right-wing Female Activists in Buenos Aires, 1900–1932

Sandra F. McGee

A distinctive feature of twentieth-century Argentina, viewed in its Latin American context, has been the prominence of the right wing.[1] Although rarely large in number, the Argentine right has influenced military officers, politicians, intellectuals, and clerics from the early 1900s to the present. It has defended the existing system of property relations against efforts to restructure society according to the ideals of equality and popular decision making. In its view, stability and national unity are based on the principles of morality, family, religion, property, and hierarchy. According to the right, leftist doctrines of class conflict, democratic demands for universal suffrage, liberal concepts of natural rights and freedoms, and feminism undermine these principles and, in turn, weaken the entire social structure. Therefore, the right wing has traditionally opposed all of these viewpoints.[2]

Right-wing ideology has appealed to women as well as to men. Despite the fact that women did not yet vote or participate heavily in party politics, between 1900 and 1932 some women helped protect the status quo by working with organizations such as Social Catholicism, the Argentine Patriotic League, and the Argentine Civic Legion. Through demonstrations, fund-raising and publicity campaigns, and work with the poor, female members of these groups attempted to soothe class hatreds.[3] Indeed, church and right-wing leaders, who theoretically opposed female activity outside the home, considered women's efforts so crucial that they recruited women for the cause of social peace.[4] By examining the evolution of right-wing organizations and the aspirations of their female adherents, we can see how these women's activities presented them with new opportunities: to cross class barriers and forge alliances with women of different social origins, and to challenge the traditional division of sex roles. Right-wing women, however, failed to take complete advantage of these opportunities. Although they were concerned about the same social problems as feminists and the generally more liberal lower-class women, the class interests that bound them to men ultimately proved stronger than the ties of womanhood and the desire for female autonomy.

To understand the role of right-wing women, one must first look at the social and economic trends that aggravated class conflict and at the other social problems that these women attempted to solve. Immigration was one of these trends. Largely as a result of the influx of Europeans, the national population tripled between the years 1870 and 1910. In 1914, 30 percent of the populace was

foreign-born, a higher proportion of immigrants to total population than that of any other major country, including the United States.[5] One-half of the residents of Buenos Aires, the national center of commerce and industry, were of foreign origin in that same year.[6] The urban proletariat, and hence the labor movement, was mostly of immigrant background, an important factor behind the rise of right-wing groups and ideas.

Immigration was responsible for a demographic imbalance that had far-reaching social consequences. Many more men than women emigrated from Europe; in 1914 there were 115.5 men for every 100 women, in contrast to 106 men for every 100 women in the United States. Out of each 1,000 persons in the capital, 539 were male and 461 were female.[7] Of nineteen countries surveyed in 1914, including European nations, the United States, and Australia, Argentina had the smallest percentage of married men and women out of the total adult population.[8] Between 1914 and 1919 about 22 percent of all births each year were illegitimate.[9] It is possible that many of the legally unattached adults had stable common-law relationships and that many of the illegitimate children lived with parents too poor to afford marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, the low percentage of married adults, the skewed sex ratio, and the large number of illegitimate births were widely perceived as evidence of moral and familial decay. Related problems such as the large numbers of abandoned children and unwed mothers, as well as the fact that Buenos Aires was a center of the international white slave trade, aroused concern among groups throughout the ideological spectrum.[10]

Immigration, however, also helped fuel impressive economic growth. In the half century before World War I, real gross domestic product grew about 5 percent annually, a rate matched by few other nations for such an extended period of time.[11] Dependent upon exports of wool, hides, and salted meat and imports of grain before 1880, Argentina was the second largest producer of wheat and corn in the world by 1915. Meanwhile, it had also added chilled and frozen beef to its list of livestock exports.[12] From 1895 to 1913 the number of industrial firms in Buenos Aires that processed these raw materials doubled, and capital investment increased fivefold.[13] Argentina had evolved from a primitive ranch land into a wealthy country—at least in terms of its export sector.

While economic development enriched some groups, particularly landowners and others with export interests, the workers who built the rural and urban economies did not receive a proportionate share of the wealth. To combat such problems as poor working conditions, seasonal unemployment, and wages that often did not keep pace with the cost of living, workers, particularly the foreign-born, joined unions of different ideological orientations: anarchist, socialist, and syndicalist.[14]

The high cost of living for proletarian families and the fact that many women had no spouses to depend on for financial support forced both married and single women into the ranks of workers. In 1914 females constituted 22 percent of the total national labor force over fourteen years of age. As many as 30 per-

cent of all industrial and manual laborers were female, as were 52 percent of instructors and educators, and 84 percent of those providing personal services, a category including maids, laundresses, ironers, and seamstresses. Women industrial laborers were particularly common in dairies, in textile, chemical, and tobacco processing, and in match factories. Since the demand for their labor rose during World War I, female employment figures for the years after 1914 probably grew to new heights.[15] These women participated in unions, the Socialist party, labor congresses, and strikes, but (with some significant exceptions) they tended to remain in the background of movements heavily dominated by men. The principal arenas for most anarchist and socialist women were feminist discussion groups rather than union or party activities.[16] The most important manifestation of female involvement in social conflict in the early twentieth century was the Tenant Strike of 1907, a movement tied to neighborhood rather than any specific party or labor faction. Here, housewives were instrumental in organizing over 100,000 tenement dwellers of Buenos Aires and other major cities in a rent protest.[17]

By the early 1900s the there was a growing feminist movement, led by immigrants and daughters of immigrants. The leaders were working women—middle-class professionals and lower-class laborers—many of whom were also members of the Socialist party. Therefore, it is not surprising that the feminist organizations that arose between 1900 and 1920 largely directed their efforts toward impoverished women: manual laborers, abandoned wives, and prostitutes. Feminists lobbied for higher wages and improved working conditions, opportunities for prostitutes to reform themselves, and expansion of facilities for unwed mothers and homeless children. Among other programs, they established vocational and domestic education classes to train proletarian women to become better workers and mothers. Another feminist concern was to improve the legal status of women by revising the civil code. While some feminists also wanted the vote, this issue did not gain much support within the movement until the 1930s. Meanwhile, starting with a small core of a few hundred militants, feminist organizations succeeded in attracting several thousand followers by the end of the period under study.[18]

Although the labor movement was divided and small in the early twentieth century, its attempts to promote class consciousness and unity, win benefits from employers, and prepare for revolution alarmed governments and the upper classes. The police and the military suppressed union activities, and arrested and deported union leaders. Powerful employer associations hired scabs to break up strikes and formed "yellow" unions. Occasionally private citizens participated in the repression of workers. During labor disruptions in 1910, armed vigilantes joined government forces in attacking worker neighborhoods, organizations, and newspaper offices.[19]

Other citizens, especially clergymen and lay members of Catholic organizations, were interested in soothing class hatreds rather than aggravating them through violence. Such persons were attracted to Social Catholicism, a church-

sponsored movement responding to the global challenges posed by social change, liberalism, and radicalism. Although the church had a stake in the status quo, it had no particular commitment to classical economics, and it could support social welfare measures and working-class organization for limited economic ends with fewer qualms than its liberal rivals. Therefore, in order to achieve humanitarian ends and win souls, Pope Leo XIII asked Catholics to help laborers in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891.[20]

Responding favorably to the encyclical, many Argentine priests and lay persons declared that they would work for social reform, Argentine nationalism, and public peace. In pursuit of these goals, they established confessional unions, social projects in poor neighborhoods, and workers' circles. These Social Catholics also educated other persons on the social questions raised by the Pope and even worked with the Socialist party in Congress to pass reformist legislation.[21]

Argentine women joined the church's campaign to woo laborers away from radical doctrines. The prior experiences of upper-class women in education and philanthropy facilitated their participation in the Social Catholic movement. Since the early years of the Argentine republic, women had involved themselves in social endeavors. One of the first and most important of these activities was the Beneficent Society, which from 1823 to 1948 administered hospitals, schools, and orphanages, supplied emergency aid to indigent women and poor families, and provided other welfare services.[22] Another example was the National Council of Women, founded in 1900, which held classes for working women, hosted lectures and seminars on music and the arts, and sold goods made by women without any handling charge. These kinds of educational and charitable tasks were commonly regarded as the normal duties of upper-class women, particularly after marriage.[23]

Including members of all social ranks, workers' circles helped lower-class families and encouraged the rich to cooperate with the poor, thus combating the idea of class warfare. Female participation in these and other Social Catholic organizations had a marked political orientation. Celia La Palma de Emery, a Catholic activist, observed that the workers' circles represented "a beautiful promise of social pacification." In her view such groups were necessary to defeat the forces of social revolution, which sought to destroy Christian civilization, the nation, marriage, and the authority of the family. She believed that the best defenses against socialism and anarchism were the Catholic religion and the Catholic family.[24]

Monsignor Miguel de Andrea, Social Catholic reformer and future leader of the Argentine church, also recognized the danger of revolution and enlisted women in his struggle against the left. Aware of female participation in the Socialist party, the labor movement, and feminism, Andrea nevertheless believed that most women did not sympathize with the goals of these groups. He regarded women as conservative by nature, calling them "the custodians of our traditions."[25] He and other Argentine clerics reasoned that women had traditionally concerned themselves with keeping the family together and teaching

children to be obedient to their parents, God, and country. Their role in maintaining and educating the family, as well as their image of love and self-sacrifice, resembled the role and image of the church. Already tied to the church through religious fervor, charitable activities, and organizations, upper-class women would be the church's natural allies in the quest for social order. In addition, working-class women could be mobilized to defuse the revolutionary threat, for they presumably shared the conservative traits of womanhood. Implicit was the idea that such activism would not remove women from their traditional domestic sphere—indeed, that defending the status quo represented only an extension of that sphere.[26]

Andrea and others, however, did not see leftism as the only threat to the social order. In the right wing's view, society was composed of families and other mediating institutions, such as churches and communities, which helped maintain law and order. Without the actions of these institutions, human beings would revert to barbarism and chaos. Andrea saw the family as the microcosm of the social structure; the foundation of society was authority, and the foundation of the home was paternal rule. Trends in demography and female employment, as well as leftism, threatened the stability of the family and hence the stability of society.[27] Other men of the right added organized feminism to the list of threats to the family.[28]

Some politicians and legalists (and not only those of the right) thought that restricting female labor would strengthen the family.[29] Andrea, however, disagreed with this viewpoint. He believed that, ideally, women should rule the household and only men should work outside the home. By helping the poor, perhaps the Social Catholic programs would eventually reintegrate lower-class women into the domestic sphere. Under present conditions, however, he observed that many women had to work in order to feed themselves and their families, and it was only fitting that they be able to do so with dignity. They should be trained to be competent professionals, to strive for social peace in their work environments, and to be conscientious mothers. In addition, since Andrea thought it only a matter of time until women received the vote, he considered it mandatory to prepare them for their future political roles and, implicitly, to insure that they harbored conservative views.[30]

Andrea and other Catholics started to implement these ideas in the early twentieth century. The most publicly assertive female Catholic group was the Federation of the Congregations of the Daughters of Mary, which Andrea founded in 1908. This patriotic organization was composed of the prestigious female descendants of the women who had donated their jewels to the cause of Argentine independence.[31] In their manifesto of 29 May 1910, the Daughters of Mary praised their forerunners and their patriotic legacy, noting that "love of God and the fatherland is the heritage which the woman of today receives from them, and which she has the sacred duty to conserve, defend, and promote."[32]

The Daughters of Mary defended this heritage during the centennial celebrations of 1910. As 25 May, the date of Argentine independence, drew near,

anarchists began to mount large demonstrations. The Daughters hoped to discourage anarchists from disrupting the festivities and embarrassing the Argentines in front of foreign dignitaries. At the downtown church named for Our Lady of Mercy, the patron saint of the Argentine army, the Daughters sponsored a mass celebrating independence on 21 May. Also attending were the Beneficent Society, the League of Argentine Catholic Ladies, and other women's groups. After the mass, Andrea led the women on a patriotic march from the church to the tomb of José de San Martín, the great liberator of southern Latin America, a few blocks away. Singing the national anthem as they marched, the women embodied upper-class resistance to anarchism. The example they set inspired young men of their class to hold similar demonstrations several days later. These manifestations of nationalist sentiment erupted into violence against workers on the streets.[33]

The Social Catholic women's organizations, however, usually avoided confrontations with leftist men, preferring instead to cultivate ties with proletarian women. Delegates to several national Catholic congresses in the early 1900s urged women to familiarize themselves with the problems of the poor. They encouraged Social Catholic women to participate in the workers' circles, to visit factories and homes of female laborers, and to create centers where working women could congregate.[34] The League of Argentine Catholic Ladies, founded in 1911 by a Jesuit priest, responded to these pleas for action. Working with female factory employees in Buenos Aires, the league encountered resistance not only among workers but also among capitalists. Its aims were to encourage young women to save their earnings, to accumulate a dowry, and to "fulfill their Christian social duty," a euphemism referring both to spurning leftist doctrine and preparing for the duties of marriage. Bringing single working women into the traditional domestic sphere was clearly a goal of the league. Workers' deposits, contributions, and proceeds of benefit functions were placed in the league's savings bank, which financed workers' restaurants, a lodging house for homeless women, and other projects.[35]

Young upper-class women also became extensively involved in work with the proletariat. Their activism was sparked when Monsignor Gustavo Franceschi, an articulate Social Catholic prelate, gave a speech at a prestigious Catholic high school for girls in Buenos Aires in 1916. The topic of his speech was the social mission of women. Attracted by his message, a small group of students decided to meet regularly with Franceschi to discuss Catholic social and economic doctrines related to *Rerum Novarum* and their application to modern problems. The Blanca de Castilla Studies Center arose out of these efforts. Its adolescent members conducted research on such pressing issues as child vagrancy, female and child labor in sweatshops, factories, and domestic service, and living conditions in proletarian neighborhoods. The results of these investigations appeared in pamphlets, short monographs, and legislative proposals, which the girls distributed on street corners and even sent to members of congress. A recipient of their publications, the Socialist Congressman Alfredo Palacios, praised the "young ladies of society" for their social concern.[36]

Organizing confessional unions, however, was the center's most significant achievement. The girls visited female laborers in their workplaces and homes, ate lunch with them, and talked to them in the streets, persuading them to organize under the church's auspices. Between 1917 and 1918 the center created three unions: the Catholic Syndicate of the Female Laborers of Nueva Pompeya, in an industrial suburb of Buenos Aires; the Catholic Syndicate of Female Store Employees; and the Catholic Syndicate of the Needle, composed of seamstresses. Attracting 719 women by 1919, the syndicates offered job placement and medical, educational, and religious services to their members. They aimed at advancing the economic and professional interests of their constituents, but always in a legal, peaceful, and nonrevolutionary context. Never did they strike, nor did employers oppose their formation. In fact, the girls of the center retained the leadership positions of the syndicates. The unions' requirements for affiliation also manifested the right-wing viewpoint of their founders. Only those applicants with good conduct records were accepted, and the seamstresses' union emphasized respect for "Religion, Fatherland, Family and Property" as a qualification for membership. The center's free classes on home economics and religion, as well as its special church services, also reinforced the Social Catholic goal of bringing female workers back into the traditional fold of womanhood.[37]

Control of the syndicates changed hands after 1922, when they were absorbed by the Federation of Catholic Associations of Female Employees, organized by Andrea. By 1931 the federation had attracted 7,000 women who were, in Andrea's words, "immunized now against the virus of social revolution."[38]

Upper-class women continued to support the status quo in the turbulent years of labor militancy that followed World War I. During January 1919 a general strike paralyzed Buenos Aires and culminated in violence between workers and the forces of order. The "Tragic Week," as it was called, occurred at the same time as the Spartacist uprising in Berlin and only fourteen months after the Bolshevik revolution. Fearful of leftist revolution, upper- and middle-class citizens formed civil guards to attack workers and protect property. The church responded to the proletarian threat by setting up the Argentine Catholic Popular Union, a continuation of the Social Catholic movement. Its goals were to invigorate Argentine nationalism, to help workers exploited by both capitalism and anarchism, and to raise the social conscience of all Catholics. The organization's first and most significant activity was the Great National Collection for Reestablishing and Consolidating Argentine Social Peace, held between September and October 1919. The proceeds of the fund-raising drive were spent on workers' housing and other social-welfare projects. While the collection was administered by men, matrons of old patrician families were numbered among the main contributors and fund raisers. The collection's "Commission of Honor" included 223 women, many of whom had participated in other Social Catholic groups, and 206 men.[39]

A more important response to worker activism was the creation of the Argentine Patriotic League at the end of January 1919. The civil guards formed during the Tragic Week became its first local chapters, or "brigades," and other

brigades soon arose in the provinces and national territories. The brigades were united in a hierarchical structure headed by a junta in Buenos Aires. By May 1919 the league claimed to have 12,000 members in the capital and 40,000 in the rest of the nation.[40] These figures, however, fluctuated over time, and it would be more accurate to say that the league had a solid core of about 11,000 permanent members, organized in 550 brigades. Nevertheless, as a national political force, the league was comparable only to the Radical Civic Union, the ruling party. It possessed a large and cohesive structure, it enjoyed many contacts in the government and military, and its leaders came from the wealthiest and most influential sectors of Argentine society. The league's rank and file, however, came largely from the middle class.[41]

The league helped repress strikes and union activities throughout the nation, especially between 1919 and 1921, but it also aimed at winning labor's allegiance from the "foreign" left through nationalist propaganda and social-welfare projects. This peaceful strategy of class conciliation resembled Social Catholicism and similarly relied on female support. Encouraged by male leaders, women enthusiastically formed their own league brigades, particularly in Buenos Aires, and a few other women joined male units. Female brigades were organized along lines of neighborhood, marital status, and occupation (principally teaching). While the brigades of señoras and señoritas were under separate governing juntas, largely autonomous from male league authorities, the teachers' brigades were responsible to the male junta. It is difficult to estimate the number of female *liguistas*, since no membership lists remain in existence. Based on the fact that there were about 50 female brigades, however, it is safe to assume that there was a core of at least 900 to 1,000 dedicated female activists. This sum included the brigade representatives who composed the ruling juntas. Throughout the 1920s, 71 women belonged to the Commission of Señoritas, 45 to the Junta of Señoras, and about 60 to the teachers' authorities.[42]

Like their male counterparts, women of the rank and file and of the teachers' brigades came mostly from the middle class, but members of the Commission of Señoritas and Junta of Señoras came from old, prestigious families. Indeed, 97 percent of the former and 100 percent of the latter were of the upper class. In this and other ways, they resembled their Social Catholic predecessors. Their backgrounds were even more aristocratic than those of male leaders, of whom 70 percent were upper-class. The difference between the male and female leaders can be explained by the fact that the latter formed a narrower, more cohesive group than the former. Thirty-six percent of the Junta of Señoras and 23 percent of the Commission of Señoritas were closely related to men in the league. Their husbands and relatives must have acquainted them with the organization's goals and encouraged them to become members. Furthermore, at least 40 percent of the junta and 86 percent of the commission were closely related to other women in the league.[43] Female kinship networks strongly influenced the affiliation of women, particularly in the case of the señoritas.

Not surprisingly, many of the league women came to the organization with

backgrounds in philanthropic endeavors and Social Catholic groups. About 58 percent of the Junta of Señoras fit into this catgory; most of the señoritas were too young to have had previous experience of this type.[44] Indeed, women's activity in the league was an extension of such functions. As one male *liguista* remarked, their mission was to emulate the "white Christ" of love, as against the "red Christ" of hate.[45] The brigades of señoras carried the league's message to the working class through social-welfare projects, and the brigades of señoritas and teachers did so mainly through education. The teachers' brigades encouraged the propagation of nationalist ideas in the classroom. More important were the señoritas' educational activities. Realizing the difficulty of appealing directly to male workers, who possibly were radical, the señoritas followed the Social Catholic example and concentrated their efforts on female workers, setting up schools for them in factories and workshops. Only students who accepted the league's motto of "Fatherland and Order," however, were admitted.[46]

The schools had three purposes, the first being simply to improve the position of working women in the labor market by teaching them basic skills. To this end, classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic, homemaking and vocational arts, and Argentine history were offered. Another purpose was, in the words of one female league member, to dispel "the ignorance which subjected them to others": not to men but to "subversive elements," who exploited their lack of knowledge for the cause of disorder.[47] The league hoped that a nationalist education would transform "the hatred of the working class into the friendship of the workers for their bosses and benefactors."[48] The schools were designed to inculcate female laborers with Catholic piety and such "Argentine values" as love of country and work, punctuality, obedience to the law, deference toward one's betters, and the "virtue of happiness." The clear intent of the curriculum was to create a submissive female proletariat, deaf to the cries of leftist revolutionaries. To reinforce this goal, the singing of patriotic songs frequently punctuated the lessons on the more academic subjects mentioned above.[49]

The young league women who administered the schools hoped their pupils would disseminate their knowledge at home, influencing their husbands, fathers, and children to be "good Argentines." The league believed that the "social question" could be resolved largely through the efforts of mothers. Once "Argentinized" by the schools, immigrant women would teach their families to accept their lot, work diligently, attend church, and concentrate their efforts on rising within the system. This idea was related to the third purpose of the schools: to strengthen the traditional family, that essential buttress of the social structure, and to reinforce the woman's role within the family. Like Andrea, who in fact joined the league, the organization's male and female leaders accepted the fact that many lower-class women had to work outside the home, but they did not see this situation as ideal. Nor did they care for the apparent frailty of marriage as an institution in Argentina. Manuel Carlés, the league's president, frequently expressed concern over the lack of morality in society and the weakness of the immigrant home. Such problems, he believed, led inexorably to the decay of

authority.[50] If the league could not prevent women from working, at least it could train them to be better mothers through its classes in morality, religion, and homemaking arts. Carlés considered religious instruction for women especially crucial because he thought it neutralized feminism, which he defined as the "fight against men to masculinize women and feminize men." Indeed, Carlés opposed the extension of female legal rights and female suffrage, arguing that women did not need these reforms.[51] League women were conspicuously silent on the feminist issue. At any rate, the importance of motherhood and the ties between family and nationality were emphasized in a magazine, *Agathaura*, which the brigades of señoritas published and distributed to the students.

Whether the schools accomplished their purposes is hard to determine. The president of the señoritas, Jorgelina Cano, announced that in 1922 the average daily school attendance totaled 2,500, and that while all of these students had originally been illiterate, over 80 percent could now read and write.[52] By 1927 the league claimed to have taught about 10,000 women in its schools.[53]

In addition to providing educational services, the señoritas' brigades opened homes for juvenile delinquents, started lending libraries and donated textbooks to impoverished children, and raised funds for other projects. The señoras established maternity hospitals, day-care centers for children of working mothers, neighborhood kindergartens and schools, and free medical facilities; they also sponsored entertainment for working-class families—usually entertainment with a patriotic message.[54] The señoras were perhaps best known for their annual exposition of textiles woven and embroidered by Indian women in their homes in northwestern Argentina. Its object was to stimulate national industry, the prosperity of traditional Indian women, and interest in Argentine handicrafts.[55]

It is difficult to assess the league women's impact upon the working class, but it is clear that they were dedicated to their tasks. The league's most steadfast foes, the anarchists, constantly ridiculed the group for its reliance on women. The anarchist newspaper *La Protesta* claimed in 1919 that women constituted the most militant section of the league, and the league's dependence on them was a clear sign of the organization's impotence.[56] These statements were inaccurate: the league's side emerged victorious from the postwar struggle between labor and capital, and men as well as women were instrumental in this triumph. Still, the anarchist opinion demonstrated the crucial role of league women—as well as the fact that the anarchists did not necessarily view women in a more egalitarian manner than did the right.

The league continued its activities throughout the twenties; indeed, the organization still exists today. Meanwhile, however, the initiative was shifting to other groups, influenced by Maurras and the European right, which were hostile to liberal democracy as well as leftism. The administration's inability to deal with the Great Depression and dissatisfaction within the armed forces contributed to a revolution in 1930. The newly installed government declared that it opposed electoral politics and that it intended to revise the constitution and create a corporatist state. It officially recognized a paramilitary group, the Argentine Civic Legion, as its partner in the task of institutional reform.

Formed in February 1931, the legion was to help the authorities maintain order, promote Argentine nationalism and unity, and provide civilians with military training. Its members believed in the principles of fatherland, God, the Christian family, paternal authority within the home, and social hierarchy. Observers claimed, however, that the legion's main purpose was simply to repress opponents of the regime.[57] As in the case of the league, the legion's leaders were military officers and members of the upper class. By July 1931 it had attracted an estimated 30,000 adherents who were organized in armed and uniformed brigades.[58]

Four months after the legion was created, some women proclaimed that they could not remain indifferent to the spirit of national rejuvenation. They, too, desired to contribute to the national greatness by combating subversive ideas, defending the honor of the hearth, watching over the health of children, alleviating social evils, and encouraging harmony among all inhabitants.[59] Thus, women sympathetic to the cause of the legion established its auxiliary, the Argentine Civic Legion Feminine Group, with brigades in the capital and other urban centers. The leaders announced that they would fulfill their goals of reinforcing order, authority, and hierarchy in the home, in the school, and among the people through social-welfare projects. These charitable activities proved to be similar to those of the league and of the Social Catholic organizations. They included soup kitchens and free lodgings for the unemployed.[60]

As in the case of the league, the Feminine Group was much smaller than the male section, and it drew upon a narrower social base, but its composition differed from that of the league in some ways. Female brigade membership in June 1931 was estimated at 700.[61] Of the 71 female legionnaires who signed the original manifesto, 79 percent were members of the upper class, in contrast to 65 percent of the male leaders. These percentages were lower than those of the league, indicating that right-wing ideology was beginning to attract a wider following, perhaps among descendants of immigrants eager to identify with the upper class. Other information on the legionnaires' backgrounds seems to corroborate this impression. Although the great majority of the 71 founders were married, only 31 percent had prior experience in charitable activities, in contrast to 58 percent of the league's Junta of señoras, suggesting that the legionnaires were somewhat younger and of less exalted backgrounds. Kinship ties continued to influence women's political affiliation, although not quite as much as in the past; 27 percent of the founding members were related to other female legionnaires, 15 percent to female *liguistas*, and perhaps as many as 21 percent to male legionnaires.[62]

Despite the differences between the members of the league and those of the legion, both groups of women, along with the Social Catholics, shared fundamental traits. Most of these women came from privileged backgrounds. Furthermore, they believed that the Christian family formed the base of society and that leftism, modernization, and other forces threatened this institution and thus the social fabric itself. The purpose of their activities was to preserve the existing class system by strengthening the family and diluting the appeal of

revolutionary doctrine. This aim was the same as that of men in the organizations, although the fact that men and women used different tactics may have obscured the unanimity of goals. While men of the right also called attention to the problems of the working class, generally male league and legion members concentrated on strike breaking and other forms of repression, leaving the task of peaceful cooptation to their female counterparts.[63]

Although the charitable activities of right-wing women bore some resemblance to those of feminists, the two groups differed markedly. Most feminists came from more plebeian social backgrounds than those of right-wing activists, and they tended to identify themselves with the left, favoring revolutionary change. Their aid to the poor was not dispensed with the spirit of noblesse oblige that characterized the "alms dispensing" of the right. This difference was attributable not only to the class origins of the two groups but to the fact that feminists were more likely to have received professional training than their upper-class ideological rivals. The leaders of the feminist movement, for example, included scholars, medical doctors, educators, and unionists. In contrast, few of the women who joined the Social Catholic organizations, the league, or the legion ever became professionals, and their social-welfare projects reflected their amateurism.[64]

The goals of feminists and right-wing women diverged in several ways. Both groups placed great emphasis on the family and on the mother's role within it. Indeed, feminists justified their demands for female equality by insisting that the skilled and emancipated woman was a better mother and thus strengthened the family and society. Women of the right, however, rarely mentioned the struggle for female rights (and never in a favorable context), despite the fact that the 1920s witnessed a dramatic improvement in women's civil status based on the revision of the civil code, an important feminist victory. Although both groups sponsored educational work among lower-class women and children, the feminists placed little emphasis on nationalism and the inculcation of patriotic values. Finally, feminists abhorred the stress on religion and bourgeois morality that characterized the projects of the right, believing that these biases interfered with the goal of liberating women from their dependence on men and on the church. This brief comparison between right-wing women and feminists reveals the critical differences between them, judged by the criteria of the times.

Despite their opposition to feminism and their apparent submissiveness toward the male leaders of their movements, right-wing women implicitly challenged Argentine society's definition of sex roles by moving into the male sphere of politics. The similarity between their traditional philanthropic endeavors and their new political functions permitted upper-class women to take this step. While the first groups under study, the Social Catholics, were usually organized by priests, this did not mean that men always dominated their followers. Indeed, women joined the right for compelling reasons of their own. First, there was class interest; a revolution would have threatened their privileged position as well as the wealth and security of their families. Kinship and friendship ties

with other female and male right-wing activists further cemented class motivations. The right wing's exaltation of motherhood and family was appealing because it confirmed their own domestic roles. Activism gave women a sense of their own importance; male leaders and churchmen went out of their way to recruit women and praised their efforts,[65] and the left "blamed" right-wing successes on women. Furthermore, there is evidence that women gained confidence and experience through their political activities. Women were largely responsible for creating and administering the center, league, and legion brigades, and the corresponding projects of these organizations. Moreover, the social composition of the legion suggests that upper-class women were widening their networks to include persons of less prestigious origins.

Nevertheless, there was little indication that the activists were dissatisfied with the limits of their activity. Only one minor instance of such frustration surfaced. A member of the center revealed her disillusionment over the fact that Andrea's organization absorbed the syndicates that she and her friends had painstakingly created. Her bitterness, however, did not lead her to oppose Andrea openly.[66] While female activists of the right squeezed through cracks in the domestic sphere of womanhood to enter the public world of men, they did not widen the cracks by questioning the circumscribed nature of their role.

9. The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission, 1857–1880: Class Relations/ Women's Relations

Françoise Ducrocq

The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission (or, as it was called until 1868, The London Bible and Domestic Female Mission) was one among several philanthropic societies that worked throughout the nineteenth century for the spiritual and material regeneration of the poor.[1] It was not the only visiting society entirely run by women, but it was unique in concerning itself almost exclusively with women.[2] Moreover, it has left us a rare abundance of documentation.[3] Last but not least, it is characteristic of social work as it was understood in the second half of the nineteenth century, offering a good illustration of some of the social and economic contradictions encountered by Victorian middle-class and working-class women. To understand how the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission worked and what specific part women played in defining its function and action, we must consider the social and economic context in which it operated: the capital city of the British Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century.

According to contemporaries, London was then gangrenous with the evils that infected industrial and urban society. The capital city of an empire on which the sun never set, the seat of its government, the rendezvous of the aristocracy, was a sick town where, in Disraeli's phrase, two nations lived side by side without hearing or seeing one another. On the one hand was the town's western sector with its neighboring suburbs. There the rich lived, segregated from the poor and shunning any moral responsibilities for them. On the other hand, south of the Thames and east and north of the City, the masses of the working classes lived a marginal existence, appearing to their "respectable" contemporaries as a primitive tribe. Of course, we cannot accept contemporary analysis of the causes of their misery uncritically. Nevertheless, the realization that such a physical, social, and religious chasm did exist clearly motivated the creation of charitable institutions to serve as links between classes and possibly to restore the unity of the social body.[4] What was the actuality that underlay the socially inspired speeches and class guilt of reformers?

To begin with, the London poor had a very low rate of religious observance indeed. The 1851 census results and additional statistics published by the *British Weekly* came as a shock to a public whose awareness had been stimulated by the Evangelical movement since the beginning of the century.[5] For example, in

the districts of Hackney and Stepney, the percentage of practicing Christians had fallen to 6.2 and 5.8 percent respectively. Second, the economic situation was alarming. Certain trades that had been conducted on a small artisan scale were disappearing. Also, problems were caused by the location of large industries, which forced the migration of manpower, by the seasonal character of hiring policies, and by cyclical depressions, all of which resulted in underemployment or unemployment and misery for much of the working class. Finally, state support for the poor was so limited, particularly with regard to health, education, and housing, that it made the material circumstances in which the working classes had to live even more precarious.

Clearly the London poor were living in a completely different world from the rich who had espoused the principles of the new domestic ideology with its set rules regarding family, home, and marriage as a base for wider social and economic aspirations. According to Jeffrey Weeks, this ideology could be expressed in two catchwords: prudence and postponement.[6] In opposition to this, as one woman told a Biblewoman, the world of the poor was an uncertain one. It was a world concerned with satisfying immediate, basic needs: "I tell you what it is. Poverty is a curse—a curse! It works all the good qualities out of you, and you ponder, ponder. It takes all your thoughts to know how to get bread." It was a world turned upside down—where women who lived on the street or at the pub were urged to stay at home; where those who did not possess enough clothes to cover themselves decently were told that limbs should be hidden for modesty's sake; where the virtue of work was turned into dogma but there were no jobs to be had; where the Lord's Day as well as the Bible, which had become *the* family book, were ignored; where brutality reigned supreme at a time when good manners were fashionable; where the few marriages entered into were soon broken while the nuclear family was hailed as the cornerstone of society.

The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission was created in 1857 by Ellen Ranyard, a Low Church Anglican. At first the mission was only a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1813), both from a financial and organizational point of view. Its purpose was to distribute the Bible in the London slums and thus to convert the poor to a religious and moral life. As it grew into a "female agency," however, the mission began to develop in a very different way. First, it created a body of professional social workers called Biblewomen and later added nurses; the mission paid them ten shillings a week. The Biblewomen came from the working classes, and, where possible, came from the districts for which they were responsible. The intention was to create a "female paid agency in the distribution of the Scriptures to the poor by a person of their own class." The Biblewomen received religious, legal, domestic, and medical training. "In 1867, ten years after the initial experiment, there were 234 Biblewomen in London's poorer districts, and Mrs. Ranyard's Bible and Domestic Female Mission, as it was then called, had raised over £133,000."[7]

These Biblewomen were "carefully selected and vigilantly though quietly

superintended" by lady superintendents, who came from the middle class. They were volunteers. Responsibilities were divided between the two groups so as to maintain carefully defined hierarchical relations. The Biblewomen's primary duties involved direct contact with the poor. They peddled their Bibles and their message from house to house, cleverly catering to both the spiritual and material needs of the poor. Biblewomen would either use the sale of the Bible as a device to approach women, whose domestic lives they would then try to reform, or they would attract the poor with material benefits and seek to reach their souls at a later stage. In so doing, they showed a far greater capacity to react to immediate circumstances than male missionaries such as those of the London City Mission. As soon as possible, Biblewomen would gather the women they had visited in prayer meetings, tea meetings, or mothers' meetings. There were thus two stages of contact: first they would meet as many women and families as possible in their own homes; then they would offer life inside the mission rooms as a substitute for meeting in the street or in the pub:

> Some brought their work and some their babies, and, having paid their installments for their clothing or bedding sat around the table by the cheerful gaslight to hear the Bible story. . . . The dormitory itself was a perpetual "object lesson," . . . bringing before their eyes certain necessary provisions for cleanliness, health, and propriety of which they had never heard from generation to generation.[8]

The lady superintendents did not maintain such regular and direct contacts with the poor, although according to their reports they paid them regular visits, accompanied by the Biblewomen, particularly to collect money for the clothing clubs. The task of the superintendents was primarily administrative but no less important to the success of the mission. They managed the mission's money, which they collected from women of their own class or the aristocracy. To that end, they had devoted themselves to a permanent propaganda campaign: "There are ladies who sit in their drawing rooms, martyrs to self-consideration—whose own happiness is frittered away by doubts and fears of a speculative kind—who would find their *faith* and *hope* greatly strengthened by the new exercise of their *love*, which the London streets now offer them, and who would, in undertaking the charge of a few dozen families, in connection with the Biblewomen, enter upon a new and nobler existence."[9] At least twice a week a superintendent would interview her Biblewomen to give them advice on various problems that might arise. This communication hierarchy would be observed even to such concrete subjects as the manner of cooking a "nourishing soup" with bone broth as a basis. The superintendents passed advice on diet and home economics to the Biblewomen, who in turn shared it with the women they visited. The lady superintendent also checked the missionaries' journal and drafted a summary report for publication in their monthly magazines: *The Book and Its Mission, Past and Present*, and *The Missing Link*.[10] She was also expected to be well versed in relevant legal matters such as the poor law and the education act, to

keep informed about the numerous handbooks and guides published for district visitors, and, finally, to be "a careful conscientious woman of business with clear head and very methodical ways," as suggested by Octavia Hill, an admirer of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission.[11]

Clearly, these superintendents were a far cry from the traditional almsgiving ladies who visited cottages with baskets full of food for poor people who were expected to be profusely thankful in their turn. Nor does their work resemble the impersonal contributions annually made to charities by aristocrats.[12] They were less concerned with alleviating the misery of the poor out of compliance or compassion than with helping the poor to help themselves on the basis of new requirements, rational approaches, and efficiency. According to them, "indiscriminate almsgiving," which was supposed to encourage pauperism, the disease of the century, was at least as pernicious as leaving the poor to their own devices. Poverty was considered a ready source of political, social, and moral unrest. The new approach developed by the women of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission, which heralded the efforts made by the famous Charity Organisation Society, is coeval with a strategic change in the capitalist system made in the second half of the century. Having established a model for social management based on production and consumption, it began to seek more specific formulas for social reproduction.[13]

In this general development, the women of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission felt that they had a major role to play both as women and as Christians. Their religion and the functions it assigned to the laity legitimated their activity. They felt that God had given them the right to interfere in a privileged capacity. In an article entitled "The Handmaids of the Lord," they maintained: "In looking into the Gospel History we learn that our Blessed Master gathered around Him not only the fishermen of Galilee, but the wives and daughters of Israel. . . . And is it not remarkable that the glorious tidings contained in the Book concerning a risen, living Jesus were first made known by the lips of women?"[14] It must be noted that they never claimed to act as representatives of the Church of England. In fact, their ecumenical approach contrasts with the sectarianism displayed by other visiting societies. But they were convinced that the way they organized themselves was an improvement, and they wished it to be copied by every church: "It is surely certain that every church, 'congregation of faithful men' and women, must include some such instruments as Marian."[15] Of course, in a society whose attitudes were so permeated by religious sentiment, it is difficult to locate the border separating ecclesiastical and lay motivations. But when the philanthropists of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission claimed that their efficiency had a unique quality, they spoke more as women than as Christians.

Indeed, in terms of Victorian ideology, they were amply justified in believing that it was their duty to embark upon a moral regeneration of the nation.[16] Their very nature as women, they felt, made them totally and exclusively responsible

for the private sphere. To the extent that they were associated with reproduction, emotions, sensitivity, and affection fell within their domain. In the same spirit, social work was but another form of their natural duties extended to the public sphere. "Thus, woman as a mother and a spouse, embodiment of virtue and purity, often appears to be the good conscience of the Victorian society: poets, moralists, philosophers, enshrine her with a transcendental quality."[17]

Yet the picture that emerges from the reports in their monthly magazines suggests that these philanthropists were really attempting to subvert the prevailing rules governing the respective roles of women and men. If women were indispensable to the evangelization of the poor, they said, it was because women know *best* how to speak to people, because they are deeply in touch with the world, with life and death. "She spoke so plain," declared a Biblewoman. "You did not understand the missionary, but *she* speaks as simple as a child, and you will be sure to understand."[18] A lady superintendent agreed: "Our Biblewoman is often welcomed to the houses of women, who say she can open their minds and tell her what they could not tell a man."[19] Of course, when they argued that the mission should exclude men, they resorted to more conventional reasons, such as women's natural modesty or the belief that men are too rigid in their defense of morality:

> The BIBLE-WOMAN was gradually admitted into rooms where denial had been perpetually given to the visits of good MEN, whether Pastors, Missionaries or Scripture Readers. It is the *women* who are at home, and they perhaps were washing their single set of garments, or were ashamed of their room, their wretched beddings. . . . They came however "not to mind" Maria and to look for her visits."[20]

The success of the Biblewomen appeared to them as a victory of their own sex over the original misgivings of male missionaries. At first, one or two male missionaries expressed a fear that "the woman was coming to work him out of the ground."[21] But as one of them admitted later, "Truly, it is the female visit that is needed to follow, or even to precede mine, and place these poor creatures in a position to listen to the truth."[22] Further, "it is difficult to overestimate the *power* of women, they declare."[23] Though obviously the implications of the word *power* are not the same for Victorian ladies as they are for us today, such an emphatic claim at asserting themselves as women and as power-wielding persons shows that if they did not have a feminist consciousness as such, they were certainly aware of potentialities in women that went beyond the Victorian ideal.

Not surprisingly, the lady superintendents also recognized the potential power of working-class women. That is why they addressed themselves primarily to mothers and occasionally to young women: "We need to reach by female agency the wives and mothers of the working classes, many of whom are too rarely to be found in the House of God, and to whom faith and salvation are only likely

to come by hearing the Word of God within their own doors."[24] But the spiritual regeneration of the masses as it was undertaken by women was dialectically connected with a radical change in the way they lived:

> It is the visitation in their homes which is needed by the London poor. It is the teaching of the mothers in those homes—for they will not come out to learn—of the common arts of domestic life, of which their deficient education, and their early, thriftless marriages have left them totally ignorant, that is the crying want of the times—and this is a woman's work.[25]

However, the targets for such an operation were carefully chosen within the framework of an explicit social strategy. In order to secure a firm hold on society, one should act upon the weak link in the chain, not on the "decent poor," who were in any case "well supplied with the Scriptures," though they might be leading lives that did not entirely comply with Victorian ideals, nor on the "criminal classes," as Priscilla, a Biblewoman, suggests: "I do not expect to get the most depraved to our meetings at first. But we have at first the poor weary wife and mother, who needs cheering, teaching, and encouraging to do right—who is willing to be advised to better plans of management: and this class will imperceptibly influence others around them."[26]

The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission set itself the task of promoting a new model for house management and hygiene. They stressed the importance of such virtues as cleanliness and good housekeeping, outward signs of inner purity and proofs of moral righteousness. Women were advised to learn how to cook, to sew their own clothes, to whitewash and redecorate their homes, to improve their physical appearance, to wash their children, and to increase their maternal authority over them. The meaning of this type of action is exemplified in the two following quotations: "There is far more child-murder than ever is brought to justice—the neglect, the dirt, the ignorance, improper feeding etc. . . . I think I should not be wrong if I said they were the most important part of our work."[27] One Biblewoman wrote, "On the table is a pile of cups and saucers at one o'clock in the day. . . . A novel lay upon the table. She looks slatternly, but as though she might easily be transformed into a nice, neat, modest maiden."[28]

The acquisition of homey virtues and health education was to be made possible through a policy that concretely encouraged women to change the way in which they looked upon their housekeeping: the mission ladies lent them blankets, saucepans, and deep dishes, and created personal clothing and beds; they also established bedding clubs that accepted installment payments. "They *buy* the Holy Book, they *make their own soup*, they *make* and buy their clothing, thus finding the nourishment and employment that keep them from the gin-palace, and being led upward and onward, almost before they are aware, within the pale of decent society."[29]

In the battle waged by the mission, there was another aspect more specifically oriented toward human relations and respect for established institutions: women were encouraged to give up the practice of common-law marriage. As a Bible-

woman remarked: "It is a melancholy fact that many of the poor of London consider the rite of marriage as needless."[30] They were consequently made to feel guilty about their sinful lives, and material help was offered. They were also encouraged to adopt a passive attitude in their married life, to display abnegation, and also to submit when their husbands were drunk. The following quotation borders on caricature:

> Found Mrs E____ and husband at work. He said that if any one had told him that his wife would have borne the blows she did on that day without returning them, he would not have believed it. He could not tell what we had done to her, but we certainly had taken the devil out of her. He should tell every man that complains of his wife to send her to one of the Mission-rooms, she would soon get better thoughts into her head.[31]

This form of counseling is not as masochistic as it may appear. In an aggressive world, they were trying to diminish the degree of violence prevailing inside the family. It was hoped that a calm and soft attitude might serve as a weapon against alcoholism. These women were advised "never to speak angrily to their husbands when they are worse for drink."[32] It was anticipated that such behavior would create an impression that, in time, might lead the spouse on the way to rehabilitation. The whole process would finally transform a wild, filthy, quarrelsome people into a replica of the bourgeois ideal embodied in this description: "In one [house], a savoury smell of dinner met us as the door opened, and there sat, so happily and comfortably, a man with his wife and children, enjoying a well-cooked dinner. Who would have guessed that three months ago, that woman was scarcely ever sober?"[33]

Wives of unskilled or semiskilled workers employed on a seasonal basis often had trades of their own, such as costermonger, washerwoman, dust-heap woman, milliner, or artificial flower maker; these activities occupied the fringe strata of the production system. In fact, the street was the focal point of life: there children were kept and educated, trade was carried out, leisure time was spent, and social and family conflicts were acted out, often in a violent form. The Biblewomen were attempting to replace this insecure and dependent life, based essentially upon neighborhood relations, with a family life centered around the home, where the analgesic virtues of maternal and marital love would prevail. While promising that physical and moral misery would disappear, they attempted to exercise control over the potential political and social risks inherent in the existence of social groups whose way of living contradicted and hampered a more modern and rationalized social system. Therefore the active and at times aggressive battle waged by women philanthropists must be considered within the framework of a larger social strategy.

Nevertheless, these efforts at control have some secondary aspects that seem to contradict and at times to alter noticeably this picture of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission. Let us consider lady philanthropists. Their activity

seems to belie contemporary medical theories, which described women as fragile, bedridden creatures subject to fainting fits.[34] A fair amount of physical courage was required for them to find their way through the London slums, among hostile or at best unconcerned and always filthy people.[35] But should one not go a step further? Whereas Hannah More declared, "Charity is the calling of a lady, the care of the poor is her profession," these women seem to have twisted a natural duty into a social expertise that went deliberately beyond the emotional function they were assigned. Despite the fact that originally this work was perceived as just an extension of traditional feminine duties, it exposed women to such facts of life as abortion, infanticide, incest, and prostitution through the reports of the Biblewomen. This leads us to wonder at the accepted image of women publicized by contemporary observers and a great number of historians after them. This image dwelled on Victorian women's prudishness and silly naiveté and showed them tightly protected in their drawing rooms, ignorant of the facts of life. But to carry out their task, these women had to acquaint themselves with law and the administration of social institutions; they had to behave in a businesslike manner as women vested with heavy responsibilities, not as seekers of personal salvation, amassing good works: "I have the habit of acting at once, and without delay, upon every impulse to do good in special cases," one lady remarked, "believing, as I do, that no good thought or desire is of ourselves, specially concerning the salvation of a soul."

These women were required to take initiative and be creative. They had to acquaint themselves with an unfamiliar social background, as they did when they organized their installment sales, a practice they borrowed from customs of the working-class community. In addition, they had to develop political concepts suitable to the experience with which they were confronted in order to articulate the purpose of their action. Many reports of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission reflected their concern with poor environment, seasonal unemployment, strikes, alcoholism and their causes: "What is it, do you think, that drives them so much to drinking?" a lady superintendent asked a Biblewoman. "Often times it is trouble,"[36] she replied. Or, as another said: "They drink to stupefy their misery."[37] Finally, their philanthropic activity gave them a degree of *power*: they felt pride and confidence in their ability to escape the dichotomy that underlay the cult of domesticity and to move beyond the private sphere.

As to the "evangelized," they were, of course, the victims of an indoctrination that invited them to comply with standards worked out by another class, standards exclusively centered around home and family. They were treated as ignorant creatures whose own experiences and values were inferior. Nevertheless, advice on health and diet, war on dust and vermin, and the organization of a system for acquiring indispensable housekeeping equipment were unquestionably necessary for any woman seeking to improve her living conditions.

Even more important, the links of friendship and mutual help that developed in the meetings, either among the women themselves or between them and the

missionaries, seem to indicate that the groups fulfilled an important psychotherapeutic role. For example, the mission was a refuge where a battered woman could find comfort: "One of the regular members of our Mothers' Meeting, a most interesting and well-disposed young woman, . . . has twice escaped with her three children to our Mission room for safety and refuge from the violence of her husband, who, when under the influence of the poisonous liquor, was like a maniac."[38] Marital conflicts were absorbing subjects for discussion and confidence in mothers' meetings and prayer groups: "On one thing they all agreed—they had all bad husbands."[39] And another woman related: "As I read a few verses to them sometimes the words seem to drop like healing balm upon their sorrows, poor things! For they almost all say that their husbands treat them badly and beat them. One learns to do so of another, and I believe it depends very much upon the women to alter it. They are certainly most thankful for a little kindness."[40]

These meetings gave women a chance to share with the group or the missionaries and to speak about their personal difficulties. "If I bring a *peck* of trouble to the Meeting," a woman says, "I always go home with a quart."[41] It was also a place where they regained their lost psychological balance with the help of the missionary or of the other women, as in the case of a woman who had lost five out of her six children, and who, according to the Biblewoman, "looked the picture of despair, carrying about with her a little boy the only child left. . . . But the interest she has taken in our weekly meetings has so gradually but powerfully cheered [her] up, that she is beginning to appear quite a different woman. To use her own words, 'these meetings give me something to think about all week.'"[42] Similarly, a woman who had arrived at the meetings "in a state of mind bordering on derangement, and scarcely fit to discharge her maternal duties" said: "I seem to get on so much better in everything than I used to do; my work gets done quicker, I have more time on my hands . . . there seems to be such a spirit of love and sympathy at the meetings."[43]

The meetings also strengthened the feeling of solidarity between women: "On going into Mrs E. I found her very ill, and her poor baby very dirty, she having no strength to wash it. . . . On my mentioning this case . . . one said 'I will take the baby home to sleep with me.'"[44] This type of meeting, by creating direct contacts between uneducated women and Biblewomen accustomed to the evangelical way of talking, offered the participants a new capacity to express their emotions, their joy, or their pain.

At times there appear in the background relations of friendship, affection, and perhaps even passion between the women and the Biblewomen, though they are difficult to evaluate. "I could not see any way of getting on till you came in," one woman said. According to one of the lady superintendents, the Biblewoman "is received as a friend among the poor degraded ones. They tell her their tales of sorrow; they ask her advice."[45] As for some Biblewomen, they regarded their own unavoidable absences as treason: "My poor mothers . . . had some new troubles to tell me. . . . Some had been unkindly treated, which they attributed to my absence, as well as the worse behaviour of their children."[46]

As one reads and rereads these reports, it seems, finally, that these woman-to-woman relationships follow a maternal pattern. According to a mission pamphlet, it was the absence of a mother model, both at the material and emotional level, that accounts for much of the physical and moral distress of the women: "If the girls have known neither 'womanhood' nor 'motherhood,' what can be looked for in the next generation, but fresh rooms full of unmothered misery?"[47] The lady superintendent and the Biblewoman therefore had to make up for the absence of a mother or for the presence of a bad mother. They strove to impart to other women their own real social status by restoring dignity to their motherhood. "In their little Mission rooms these rough women found again their lost motherliness; by degree, in their own homes, they have become true mothers and quite altered wives."[48] Such a reference to motherhood goes back, of course, to the Bible, and it led one philanthropist to say: "If they had been Romanists instead of protestant Bible women, they would very likely have met the case with pointing these unmotherly ones to 'Mary the *mother* of God.'"[49] But in fact it was the Biblewoman who first came to represent a model of motherhood for the woman she visited: "The poor people call me 'mother,'" says one of them. The lady superintendent was also a mother in the sense that she lavished her authority, knowledge, and affection on the Biblewomen and the other women. As one of the missionaries put it: "The secret of the success of this Mission may be found in its concentration of love and sympathy—a loving sympathizing Bible woman, aided by a loving, sympathizing Lady, telling the poor and needy of the love and sympathy of CHRIST."[50]

It is not my purpose to impose anachronistic attitudes on the past. Yet one cannot fail to observe how both groups of women whom we have considered, while involved in a general process of social reproduction, of conflicting class interests, crossed the lines that separated them to secure some emancipation from patriarchal power for each group. The lady patrons were able to move into a larger public sphere; they in turn helped to alleviate the miseries of their poorer sisters. The emergence of means of expression and material aspirations and the creation of specific networks of help and friendship, though they did not break the confines of class, represented a cross-class union of women. Whatever the underlying religious and political causes were, it must be recognized that both groups of social actors were allowed to alleviate—within very distinct limits—their specific oppression, that they were given an opportunity to go beyond their restricted spheres, to voice hitherto undefined requests and needs, and to create networks of friendship and sympathy.

10. The Ethnological Mirror: American Evangelical Women and Their Heathen Sisters, 1870–1910

Joan Jacobs Brumberg

On 4 February 1896 a petition representing 600,000 American women was presented to his excellency Grover Cleveland, beseeching the president "to interpose . . . for the protection of Christian women" in the Turkish empire. This appeal, which represented the joint efforts of women in all the major foreign missionary societies of the Protestant churches, was followed two weeks later by a similar petition written by Frances E. Willard and the national leadership of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an organization that claimed in 1896 a "following of not fewer than a million persons."[1]

The subject of concern in both national petitions was the fate of Armenian Christian women and their children, who, as a result of their husband's uprisings against the Muslim sultan of Turkey, had become the victims of a vicious nationalistic and religious war. "We believe, upon unimpeachable authority," stated the February document, "that our Armenian sisters have been so dealt with that they have, in at least one large company, drowned themselves in the Euphrates River to escape a fate worse than death." Armenian women were reported as "hav[ing] been turned out by scores into winter snow," without adequate clothing, food, shelter, or male protectors. The WCTU petition noted "the agony and outrage inflicted by 'Moslem savages'" on women and families whose "only fault [was] their devotion to Christ and their loyalty to a pure home." Early in 1896 an Armenian relief organization asked: "Is it not natural that the woman-heart of the west should be touched by the unparalleled affliction and peril of the women of Armenia?"[2]

Whatever the exact nature of the "atrocities" against the Christian population of Turkey, the 1896 petitions constituted an explicit call for action on the part of national leadership, revealing women's assumptions about their own vulnerability. Declaring that 1 million WCTU members believed "the protection of the home [to be] the supreme duty of statesmen," their petition went on to implore the Congress "to take such action as shall put our home-loving republic on record as having used its moral and material influence for the relief of Armenia." The petition emanating from the church groups echoed the same program, urging the protection of Armenian women by those who enjoyed life in a nation "where woman's home and honor are secure."[3] Whether we choose to regard these petitions as an expression of confidence or read them as a strategic

prod to the national conscience, motivated by anxiety rather than assurance, the fact is that large numbers of women in late Victorian America litanized the claim that their own position was both protected and unique.

The values and assumptions incorporated in the 1896 petitions suggest that we give closer attention to those post–Civil War social experiences that generated such a pervasive interest in women abroad and activated this type of double vision. We also need to know what cultural information underlay the perception that American women occupied a safe place in a unique "home-loving" republic. In other words, we must consider both how and what American women came to think about themselves in relation to other women of the world. This process of describing, classifying, and interpreting the distinguishing characteristics of other races, was, after all, the central activity of ethnology, a branch of anthropological study that began to have scientific and scholarly credence in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Yet masses of American women, with only the slightest notions of scientific rigor, embraced the study of ethnology as early as the 1870s, precisely because they were interested in the similarities and dissimilarities in women's position among the cultures of the world.

The kind of cultural yardstick implied by the 1896 petitioners was actually generated by rudimentary ethnological descriptions emanating from American missionaries in foreign fields. In fact, the public plea for the specific protection of Armenian women came near the close of what has been commonly called the "Century of Missions." Foreign missionary activity by Americans began in 1812 when New England Congregationalists endorsed and sent out their first youthful evangelization workers, some of whom (Adoniram Judson, for example) shared both public attention and national affection with their wives.[4] In the 1820s the missionaries of the evangelical Protestant churches began to ply their supporters at home with firsthand descriptions of social life among the heathen they were attempting to convert. By the late nineteenth century missionary ethnologists found attentive readers among the swelling middle-class, predominantly female reading audience.

Distinguished from professional or scientific ethnography by the fact that it employed the paradigm of an antithetical "other," the missionary ethnology was essentially didactic in purpose.[5] Ethnological descriptions of manners, family life, politics, and culture were used, first and foremost, to articulate distinctions between Christians and heathens. Not surprisingly, the complexities of intercultural contact were ignored as reports from the field increasingly developed a popular formulaic vocabulary for describing women's place in non-Christian societies. By 1900 American women were familiar, if not conversant, with an entire vocabulary that implied the degradation of women: zenanas and harems, the seraglio and the bagnio; female infanticide and suttee; concubinage and polygamy; bride sale; foot-binding and ear and nose boring; consecrated prostitution and sacrifice; bastinado; child marriage and slavery.[6]

In essence, the evangelical ethnology encouraged a notion of characteristic atrocities and in the process revitalized cultural stereotypes that were either

dormant or had never really disappeared. In antebellum America, women had already developed some notion of lives beyond their own as they heard travel lectures, popular on the lyceum circuit. But the religious ethnology, embraced by women after 1870, gave new credence to long-standing cultural observations, such as the polygamy of Indian rajahs or the foot-binding of Chinese girls, first made prominent in the era of colonialist exploration. Thus, the evangelical ethnology was significant not for any substantive contribution to scientific or professional anthropology but for its distinctive focus on women's status and roles.[7] And, in the hands of nineteenth-century religious women, old observations were given both a new gloss and a new currency, reflecting anxieties and assumptions about women's place among the American middle class.[8]

The vehicle for the popular dissemination of this catalog of heathen atrocities was the women's foreign mission crusade, a powerful and multifaceted sisterhood of agencies that took shape at the close of the Civil War. Between 1868 and 1873, in each of the major American Protestant evangelical denominations, women separated from what were called "parent boards" of male directors and generated their own foreign mission organizations headed by a national directorate of exclusively female leadership. In 1868 Congregational churchwomen coalesced to form the Woman's Board of Missions. A year later Methodist Episcopal women followed suit, creating the Women's Foreign Mission Society. In 1870 Presbyterian women organized the Ladies Board of Foreign Missionary Societies of their church; in 1873 the Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was formed.[9]

In the hands of women the foreign mission crusade took on new life and was transformed in a number of significant ways. At a very basic level the post–Civil War women's mission crusade stopped making male missionaries the focus of their fund-raising efforts and began to generate funds for the specific support of women in the field. The Congregationalist women stated explicitly: "The object of this Society is to engage the earnest and systematic cooperation of women . . . in sending out and supporting unmarried female missionaries and teachers to heathen women."[10] The women they chose to sponsor were largely unmarried or widowed, giving women without benefit of family support an opportunity to combine religious zeal with the means of making a living, if only for a few years. In the first decade of operation Congregationalists sent out 103 female missionaries, of whom over 60 percent had never been married at the time of departure. In the Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society the pattern was almost the same; 60 percent of their missionaries were unmarried at embarkation. Among Methodists the percentage was even higher: 98 percent of the women sponsored by the Women's Foreign Mission Society had not been married. By 1909 each of the major groups supported a sizable force of women missionaries: the Methodists, for example, who had only 2 women missionaries at their founding in 1869, had 312 four decades later. The Reverend N. G. Clark, an officer of the Congregationalists' American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sang the praises of the women's organizations, calling them "a great uprising of Christian women in behalf of their sex."[11]

In fact, Clark's perception of a "great uprising" was accurate. Between 1870 and 1910 the women's foreign mission crusade experienced extraordinary organizational growth, which has been hidden until now by the particularistic perspectives of denominational church history. When we look across the denominations, however, and follow the course of organizational development into the twentieth century, it becomes clear that foreign missions were, among women at least, a veritable growth industry. For example, between 1873 (when the organization was founded) and 1909 the Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society grew from 255 to 5,000 auxiliaries. Organizational growth was even more dramatic among Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, the latter group expanding from 100 auxiliary sections in 1870 to 10,869 in 1909 (table 10.1). And, where auxiliaries were planted, revenues grew. Although support for foreign missions increased among all women's groups, the Methodists outdid all others: by 1909 contributions from the Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church exceeded a half million dollars a year (table 10.2).[12]

The success of fund raising for foreign missions was inextricably linked to the rise of the middle class. "If every Methodist woman who goes to her summer cottage would take a mite-box and drop in a thank offering for each good time," wrote one missionary publicist, ". . . there would be plenty of money to send out all the dear girls God is calling."[13] This assumption that families had the means to support both women's charity work and their own leisure pervades accounts of the formation of the women's crusade. A Methodist audience in the 1870s was told that because "woman regulates the family expenses, it is for her to say whether the entire income shall be expended in luxury and needless self-indulgence, or whether there shall be sufficient left over for benevolent purposes." In 1910 Helen Barrett Montgomery, later the first woman president of the Northern Baptist Convention, attributed the inauguration of an autonomous women's foreign mission organization to an essential economic transition: the change from the collection of "beautiful self-denials," in the form of ad hoc gifts culled from the wife's "egg . . . butter . . . and rag money," to systematic gifts levied from the household budget.[14] Thus, the cluster of women's foreign mission organizations about 1870 should be regarded as more than a simple organizational development within the realm of religious history. In fact, the origin of these groups after the Civil War reflects those larger socioeconomic transformations that were recasting both the work roles of men and women and, consequently, the nature of the family itself.

The essentially middle-class spirit of the women's foreign mission crusade is further revealed in the theory and content of auxiliary programming. Above and beyond all else, the foreign mission crusade in the hands of women became a means of self-education; consequently, women's groups increasingly moved into the business of publishing materials designed for an audience of middle-class women readers. Magazines such as *Life and Light for Women* (Congregational), *Woman's Work for Woman* (Presbyterian), *The Helping Hand* (Baptist), *The Heathen Woman's Friend* (Methodist), and *The Woman's Missionary*

Table 10.1. Women's foreign missionary organizations: growth of auxiliaries and missionaries to 1909

	Number of auxiliaries first year	Number of auxiliaries 1909	Auxiliary growth[a]	Number of missionaries first year	Number of missionaries 1909	Missionary growth[b]
Baptists						
Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, East	171	2,388	13.97	6	85	14.17
Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, West	255	5,000	19.61	2	59	29.50
Congregationalists						
Woman's Board of Missions	205	2,300	11.22	7	125	17.86
Woman's Board of the Interior	70	2,466	35.23	6	80	13.33
Methodists						
Women's Foreign Mission Society, Methodist Episcopal Church	614	7,306	11.8	2	312	156.00
Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South	150	4,201	28.01	3	92	30.67
Presbyterians						
Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	100	10,869	108.69	24	568	23.67

a. Auxiliary growth calculated by dividing the number of auxiliaries in 1909 by the number of auxiliaries in the first year.
b. Missionary growth calculated by dividing the number of missionaries in 1909 by the number of missionaries in the first year.

Table 10.2. Women's foreign missionary organizations: revenue growth to 1909

	Date organized	Amount contributed to first year	Amount contributed 1909	Revenue growth[a]
Baptists				
Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, East	1873	$9,172	$117,094	12.35
Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, West	1873	4,244	67,806	15.45
Congregationalists				
Woman's Board of Missions	1868	5,033	174,626	37.36
Woman's Board of the Interior	1868	4,096	106,061	27.88
Methodists				
Women's Foreign Mission Society, Methodist Episcopal Church	1869	4,546	695,961	159.83
Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South	1878	4,104	259,178	55.52
Presbyterians				
Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	1870	12,991	460,730	35.47

a. The amount shown in the first year and in 1909 are the actual dollars contributed. Revenue growth was calculated by adjusting these figures according to the cost-of-living index (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975]).

Advocate (Southern Methodist) were created and disseminated by each of the denominational women's groups with monies drawn from their own revenues.[15] Before 1870 missionary literature had generally taken two forms: the pietistic memoir and biography of dead or returned missionaries and their wives or the ponderous anniversary sermon and annual report of the denominational board. The magazines that came after 1870, however, were part of a new "light infantry of missionary literature," which had a distinctly different tone. Underlying the new materials was the assumption that there was a body of knowledge, a "uniform study," to be learned and mastered by each and every foreign missionary supporter. In addition to nonfiction reports and letters from the field, the missionary magazines for women featured stories, poems, and graphic visual materials, reflecting the evangelicals' flexibility and wide-ranging interests in adopting print media to their own message.[16]

"Taking the magazine" therefore became a major part of the membership process. Some of the magazines could boast circulations of nearly 25,000; and while the number of subscriptions never approached the number of members, local auxiliaries never relented in their push to make every member a subscriber.[17] Increasingly, the national leadership regarded the magazine as the centerpiece

of the auxiliary system, encouraging a program of active self-study and group study of every issue. Weekly or monthly meetings were encouraged to offer "systematically arranged programmes of essays, readings, recitations, and music." "We must have something to talk about better than cake-making or flounces," wrote an 1873 Methodist contributor to *The Heathen Woman's Friend*, revealing a certain impatience with the traditional notion of women's singular commitment to domesticity. "We must have missionaries' letters, when we can get them—anything, everything that will bring this most noble and Christly work close to our slow, selfish hearts." As for the nature of the missionary letters, the organizational leadership clearly expected them to be "frank and confiding, such as can only be written to mothers and sisters." A Mrs. Anderson of Boston, a Congregationalist, had urged as early as 1869 the creation of a missionary curriculum based on these field reports: "What we need . . . is to make the missionary work a study. . . . [We need] to take up missions, one after another, becoming acquainted with geography, history, etc. Few know how much the minds and hearts of our women may become enlarged, enlightened and quickened in duty, by such a course." In this way, women's foreign missionary societies took on the function of both lyceum and prayer meeting at least two decades before the formation of the Greater Federation of Women's Clubs, generally regarded as the great agency of female self-culture.[18]

As early as 1878 Methodist women, under the leadership of Harriet Merrick Warren, editor of *The Heathen Woman's Friend*, inaugurated an outline "Uniform Study" that was designed to assist local societies in "pursuing a systematic course of study of missionary subjects." Typically, readings focused on the geography and social customs of the heathens about to be Christianized. In April 1896 the Methodist reading course was devoted to "Social Life among African Women." In May it was given over to "Girl Life in the Orient," and in June it featured reading and discussion of "High Caste Women in India." Didactic reading, however, was not the only pedagogical technique. The "moral map" of the world, a colorful graphic device for illustrating the alarming presence of heathenism around the globe, was a popular teaching aid, as was the chalkboard. "We believe," wrote an 1881 contributor to the Methodist magazine, "that the time has come when a blackboard exercise will have a place in the programme of every missionary meeting. The work need not be elaborate till the ladies become accustomed to handling the crayon. A mere outline of the country under attention, with the principal natural features . . . , would form a basis for a few minutes' paper or remarks."[19]

The concept of uniform study was designed to substitute information for sheer sociability at meetings; it also implied authority, legitimating time spent on missionary activity. Uniform study ultimately fostered the gratifying conclusion that a study group really did approximate a formal classroom. Members were encouraged to discuss the information and master a variety of facts about the world evangelization movement. A typical "question meeting," like that sponsored by the Newark, New Jersey, branch of the Women's Foreign Mission

Society in 1881, revolved around a number of questions published in the magazine, such as: "How does our Society compare as to organization and efficiency with similar societies in other churches? Has the gospel been preached in every nation? What is the greatest barrier in the mind of a Chinese in receiving Christ as his present Saviour?"[20] Other formats were based on questions with stock answers, which were then used as responsive readings, a technique that heightened the individual's sense of participation in the group and strengthened the conviction of common ideals. For example, the auxiliary leader might pose the question: "What event of this century is most important and far reaching in its power for good to the human race?" In this case, a self-congratulatory answer was supplied by the group: "The higher education of woman, and her service in giving the gospel to the secluded women of the world; in a word, the organization of Women's Board of Missions." Much of the self-study, however, focused on the mastery of factual material, generally of a quantitative nature, which was designed to produce a sense of urgency about evangelization work. For example, missionary study groups were fond of memorizing the ratio of Christians to heathen worldwide and then calculating the rate at which the evangelization of the world might occur.[21]

Materials geared to developing women's overall conception of the emancipatory nature of Christianity versus the oppressions of the ethnic religions were pervasive. "We live in a country where the discussion of 'Woman's Rights' is ever to the front," wrote Helen Barrett Montgomery. "We are to study lands where they are just beginning to recognize woman's wrongs—lands where the slogan 'Ladies First' is consistently and persistently 'Ladies Last.'" Unlike the United States, where wrongs against women were set in contradistinction to Protestant Christianity, the "wrongs of Hindu, Chinese, and Moslem women [were] buttressed behind the sanctions of religion and . . . endorsed by the founders of their faith."[22] Having established an angle of double vision, the mass of American women came to use cross-cultural information to support rather than challenge gender and family arrangements in their own country. Churchgoing American women, largely preoccupied with ameliorating what they considered to be the degraded condition of their non-Christian sisters, were generally skeptical, if not downright hostile, to the emergence of an indigenous feminist political movement and its critique of sexual subordination at home.[23] Rather than examine their own social relations, the bulk of American Protestant women sought to define themselves by what they were not. Indeed, the otherness of the non-Christian became the central message of their ethnology.

The catalog of heathen activities against women constituted the central proof of the evangelical charge that heathens were by definition misogynous. Although the word misogyny never appeared in these texts, hatred of women was identified as a central tenet in a number of faiths. For example, after having studied the work of Manu, a Hindu lawgiver, an Indian Christian convert proclaimed, "I have never read any sacred book in Sanskrit without meeting this hateful sentiment about women." According to all reports, Hindu abasement of women

was so extreme that the government of British India was forced to exclude from the mails, "as obscene literature," the sacred scriptures of Hinduism. Muslims and Buddhists were also considered misogynous; as proof, missionary ethnologists were fond of reporting how demeaned Buddhist women prayed for the reward of being born a man in a future transmigration. Given their faith in the misogynistic core of all who were not Christian, the female readership pursued discussions of the relative merits and demerits of being born in China versus Africa, in Turkey as compared to India. Missionary enthusiasts structured their discussions around questions such as: "In what non-Christian lands do girls receive as good an education as boys? In what lands do women eat with their husbands at a family table? If you were to be born a woman in a non-Christian land, where would you choose to be born?"[24]

In the vast missionary literature of heathen female debasement, three general categories of reportage consistently emerge: intellectual deprivation, domestic oppression, and sexual degradation. In each category there were specific social practices upon which American Protestant women chose repeatedly to focus their attentions. Therefore, the assumption here is that these formulaic descriptions are less than random and that they reveal as much about the experiences and values of the ethnologists as the society being studied.

Not surprisingly, the absence of the Bible among non-Christians underlay all observations about the general intellectual deprivation of heathens, be they female or male. The missionary's essential task was, after all, to supply the Gospel to the unenlightened; "How can they know, if they have not heard?" was the popular evangelical refrain. Consequently, Bible reading was part and parcel of the evangelical program to extend literacy to both men and women. However, observers typically reported a sexual differential: "In India," reported one missionary, "only one man in 42 and one woman in 858 can read or write."[25] Women's inferior access to educational opportunities was uniformly noted, while the work of women missionaries in establishing schools for heathen girls was touted as an important cultural advance. In fact, religious women reveled in the way in which their organizations were ringing the world with educational institutions where heathen girls might function as if they were at Mt. Holyoke.[26] Evangelical reports moved beyond simple illiteracy, however, to the description of a pervasive intellectual vapidity among women, a vapidity fostered by the heathen social practice of the zenana.

The zenana was one of the primary instruments of woman's seclusion in the larger purdah system. In both Muslim and Hindu societies, purdah, meaning curtain, set limitations on the interactions between women and men outside certain well-defined categories. Among Muslims, for example, women were accessible to male kin; among Hindus they were not. The zenana, a segregated living space for the exclusive use of women and the men they could see without violating rules of modesty, varied with social class. Among the very wealthy, the zenana meant separate entrances and often sumptuous private apartments; among the urban poor, where economic resources could not support separate

residences, purdah might be observed by seclusion within a single room, by limiting male entrance to the house, or simply by hanging a curtain. In addition to variations in physical form, zenanas incorporated different female age groups. Among Muslim women the restrictions of purdah commenced at puberty; among Hindus seclusion generally began with marriage. Within the zenana women engaged in traditional aspects of women's work: cleaning and maintenance of house and possessions, child care, food preparation, spinning, sewing, weaving, and other handicrafts. Women in strict purdah did not, of course, leave their homes to purchase daily food supplies or to negotiate with artisans or merchants.[27]

These distinctions between zenanas, based on class, locale, and religious tradition, were flattened by missionary ethnologists, resulting in a formulaic portrait. In the hands of the evangelicals, the zenana was never rendered as a collective workplace but as a symbol of enforced female isolation from the world. This kind of involuntary seclusion, it was argued, had serious intellectual consequences for women. The zenana was uniformly pictured as a place of indolence and monotony. "Try seriously to contemplate ourselves within the doomed circle of the zenana," urged a missionary pedagogue. "See day long, and everyday, for years in and years out, in one room; four bare walls, and nothing more to look at but a square patch of sky occasionally. What should we think about?" Selections from Lord Cromer, the British ambassador to Egypt, lent authority to Montgomery's perspective on the zenana: "[it] cramps the intellect and withers the mental development of one-half the population of Moslem countries." According to Cromer's firsthand report, when an Englishwoman asked an Egyptian lady how she passed her time, the Egyptian responded in a languid manner: "I sit on this sofa . . . and when I am tired I cross over and sit on that."[28]

As symbol of purdah, mental torpor, and physical lethargy, the zenana loomed large in the missionary ethnology, explaining why it became a focal point of so many evangelization activities emanating from the United States and Great Britain. In fact, the zenana was used to rationalize the very creation of an autonomous women's foreign mission crusade. Women missionaries might enter these private female domains while male missionaries could not. Thus, the penetration of the zenana by Christian women became an important strategic implement in the evangelical arsenal. Methodist American women, for example, made "zenana visiting" central to their proselytization efforts, as did the members of the Church of England's Zenana Missionary Society. The missionary magazines carried stories of attempts, both successful and failed, of American women who sought to introduce "spiritual" or gospel themes among ignorant and cloistered women. "This is the work," reported Isabel Hart, "through which the social foundations of heathen nations are being undermined."[29] Clearly, the way to affect the stagnation implied by the zenana was acceptance of the Christian message with all the self-study components of which middle-class American women were so fond.

The American woman's horror of female social isolation in the zenana can also be read as a subconscious criticism of the nineteenth-century cult of domesticity. By 1900 American middle-class women were in obvious tension with the notion of separate spheres. Although home life was more or less a world of women, children, and servant girls with men absent a good portion of the day in professional and business offices, an expanding interest in athletics and physical fitness, nature, popular entertainments, and civic affairs moved many women beyond sheer domesticity. For some these new activities forced recognition of woman's very real isolation from the centers of power in industrial America. Yet for the most part, the middle-class American woman regarded the nuclear family environment in America, however much it was privatized, as something quite distinct from the seclusion implied by the zenana. Her private world demanded that she cultivate and refine her skills as both domestic manager and as mother in order to extend the sphere of her influence.[30]

With this distinction in view, evangelical observers were struck by the fact that among heathen women there were allegedly no codified, formal rules of wifely or domestic behavior. "The duties of a perfect housewife for a Hindoo family are, indeed, not defined," wrote a woman missionary, "consequently . . . women enter on their earthly career quite ignorant of the responsibility attached to it."[31] Clearly, illiterate women in less developed areas of the world operated in their homes without benefit of those authoritative domestic guidebooks, such as Catharine Beecher's well-known *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841), which were linked to the formation of the American middle class. Given the evangelicals' religious predisposition to the authority of text, the lack of both domestic guide book and Bible compounded the heathen woman's cultural handicap. The assumption that there was a lacuna created by the absence of these texts informs the development of the evangelical ethnology and its subsequent description of female behavior both within the zenana and without.

In the literature of heathen domestic oppression, Protestant women's essential faith in monogamy and companionate marriage served as bedrock for further elaborations.[32] Most reports attested to the authoritarianism of heathen husbands and the acquiescence of their wives:

> A woman [in India] has no other God than her husband. Though he be aged, infirm, a drunkard, or debauchee, she must still regard him as her god. If he laughs, she must also laugh; if he weeps, she must weep; if he sings, she must be in ecstacy; she must never eat till he is satisfied. If he abstains from food, she must fast; and she must abstain from whatever good he dislikes. Under such bondage, is it any wonder that there are millions of women to whom the words "love" and "home" have no meaning?

The Reverend George Washburn, a Congregationalist missionary in Constantinople, told his readers that women in Turkey had no authority within marriage because they "are not recognized in society save as servants and slaves of men." A report from China concluded that marital relations in that country were also

shaped by "the idea that woman exists only for the convenience of man, and scarcely shares the same nature." Notably, these reports specified the authoritarianism of husbands rather than fathers, and the denominational magazines included stories and pictures of women routinely consigned to fanning their husbands or walking behind them in the street.[33]

Formulaic reports from a variety of different areas also noted how women patiently served meals, but were forbidden to eat with their husbands.[34] This interest in the social relations of eating was tied to the reality of middle-class family life in the late nineteenth century. By the 1870s middle-class families were apt to be brought meals cooked and served by domestic servants who ate apart from the family. As Faye Dudden has demonstrated, these immigrant girls and women, hired in an impersonal labor market, had a strikingly different relationship to the family than the perennial hired girl or "help" that characterized an earlier era. Because of their need to manage these servants, middle-class women were familiar with the use of eating habits in enforcing social relations. In addition, the meal itself had taken on a new social significance. As relationships within the American family were reshaped by the husband's daily absence at a separate place of work, the children's attendance in public schools, and the wife's commitment to religious and secular charitable activities beyond the home, family meals among the middle-class became veritable "seasons of privacy."[35]

The use of women as beasts of burden in agricultural areas of Africa and Persia was also an element in missionary ethnology. One report, typical of many others, observed that women in Africa looked more "like pack-mules than women." From the Orient came another metaphoric description lamenting the lot of "helpless woman, priced as cattle in the market, crippled, led in flesh-encrusted chains." This conception of the non-Christians' exploitative use of female labor and the female body was perpetuated in the responsive readings that young women supporters of missions were encouraged to commit to memory. To the question "What is the condition of women among the Moslems?" the readers replied that Muslim women, in addition to being generally "degraded and ignorant, [were] made to labor in the fields like animals, and treated as slaves."[36]

The domestic oppression of heathen women in their marriages was documented further by material that stressed the inequality of power and status within the conjugal relationship. The most dramatic examples of this, of course, were citations of wife-abuse and wife-beating, the latter being tied most directly to Muslim countries, where purportedly the Koran sanctioned "scouring and beating" wives. In Syria, Lilly Ryder Gracey reported that the murder of women and girls within the Muslim family went virtually unnoticed.[37] When male tyranny was combined with opium use, as in the Chinese case, women fared very badly, often losing both their material possessions and their children to satisfy the husband's noxious habit. A particularly lurid 1910 report by Helen Barrett Montgomery told of a wife who, after losing her home and her infant

son, was hired out by her depraved spouse as a wet nurse; when in time her breasts became dry, the husband sold her to a leper.[38]

Still further but less dramatic evidence of women's oppression within marriage was the fact that heathen men in social situations throughout Africa, the Middle East, and the Orient never introduced their wives to either friends or strangers. That women were regarded as socially invisible flew in the face of the middle-class American woman's perception of her own important social and cultural role, personified in the hyperbolic cult of true womanhood.[39] Consequently, the social affront symbolized by nonrecognition was a persistent theme in evangelical ethnology and women missionaries were proud of reporting how a general Christian influence affected manners. When a Korean official introduced his wife for the first time by name at a public reception in 1895, Mrs. M. F. Scranton wrote enthusiastically of the meaning of the small gesture: "Perhaps this may seem an insignificant affair to you, but to us who are here and who know about the secluded and narrow lives of Korean women, it seems a most important and significant event."[40]

Reports of polygamy enlarged the conception of domestic oppression in non-Christian society. Actual numerical descriptions of the number of wives held by heathen men varied widely; Helen Barrett Montgomery wrote in 1910 that in Palestine "ten or eleven wives [was] not at all uncommon," but a very early missionary report recalled how the forty-seven wives of the prince of Marava were all burned together on their husband's funeral pyre.[41] In a very basic sense, polygamy was treated as unacceptable because it was seen as the social construction of sexually insatiable men. This was the common leitmotiv in the virulent domestic campaign against Mormon polygamy that paralleled the flowering of the women's foreign mission crusade.[42] The critique of polygamy abroad, however, had a somewhat different emphasis in that it highlighted the ways in which the practice poisoned relations among women. For example, missionary ethnologists were fond of pointing out that for women in the Middle East there was an inverse relationship between money and happiness precisely because Muslim males inevitably translated their financial success into sexual excess, meaning additional wives. In this situation, competition among the wives for resources and affection was unavoidable. Thus, polygamy deprived women in their role as wives of the domestic felicity that was part and parcel of the Christian companionate marriage. "Who can describe the wretchedness and wrong, the untold degradation and corruptions, hidden in the harems of Turkey?" asked Lilly Ryder Gracey. "Shut in to themselves, women are prey of jealousy, envy, and every evil passion."[43] Implicit in this ethnological account is the belief that monogamy's value lay in its elimination of competition among women.

Pervasive accounts of patrilocal living arrangements throughout the Middle East and the Orient contained further elaboration of the notion that there was a competitive rather than a cooperative spirit among heathen women. In particular, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law were described as intrinsically hostile

to one another. The daughter-in-law's structurally weak position in the patrilineal, patrilocal family was symbolized in reports that told of her deferential relations with the mother-in-law. In 1869, for example, *Life and Light for Heathen Women* informed its readers that Turkish brides forced to leave their natal families were even forbidden to speak aloud in the presence of the mother-in-law for over one year.[44] From the perspective of middle-class American women, among whom marriage generally meant a separate household of one's own, patrilocalism, in particular, raised enormous problems of home management. In addition, new research on the kinship systems of nineteenth-century American families reveals how much American women invested in matrilocal rather than patrilocal networks; a study of Michigan families between 1820 and 1920 indicates that women—despite enormous geographic distances—relied heavily on their own mothers and sisters for economic and emotional support throughout the individual and the family life cycle.[45] Immersed in what Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has called a "female world of love and ritual,"[46] middle-class Protestant women belabored the vulnerability of the heathen female, who appeared to be without a similar system of social or economic support.

The ethnological descriptions of generational relations among non-Christians also underscored a lack of common interest, and even duplicity, among women. For example, the short magazine biographies of heathen girls adopted by Methodist missionary groups regularly included accounts of how these young women came to be orphaned. More often than not, the attribution of blame fell not to natural causes but to an older woman—a mother, grandmother, aunt, or village hag—who subjected the young girl to some kind of indignity. One converted adoptee, renamed Mary Walsh Wheelock, was allegedly rescued at age eight from "an old woman who had trained her for a dancing girl, and intended to make her fortune" from her.[47] So, too, physical mutilation of girls, primarily in the form of Chinese foot-binding and Burmese ear and nose boring, were also linked to the initiative of older women, particularly mothers. In both cases, the mothers were described as abetting the act of mutilation because of their concern for their daughter's attractiveness as a potential marriage partner. Among the heathen, so the thinking went, the mother's self-hatred and low expectations resulted in the passing on of her afflictions. For example, foot-binding, reported an 1897 magazine, was "inflicted by mothers, buoyed up by the hope that this coveted charm will secure for the girls a good position in life."[48] Ear boring was not perceived as a classic rite of passage but as testimony to nonsupportive relations among heathen women: "Amid the shrieks of the young lady victims and the shouting of older women, who hold them down, the holes are made and pieces of string inserted."[49] Thus, it was implied that heathen women contributed to the victimization of their daughters, insuring that the cycle of female abuse continued.[50]

In this sense, both heathen patrilocalism and the mutilation of girls were used to set the American middle-class experience in relief: only in Christian society, it was believed, did women's shared concerns and networks form the

basis of community social life. Nineteenth-century American women were, in fact, prone to exalted testaments to the associative power of their sex, congratulating themselves for the plethora of women's organizations that represented the formalization of their cooperative tendencies. The heathen woman's failure to create any comparable sisterhood of agencies was seen from the perspective of the didactic ethnology as proof of the debilitating effects of heathen culture on the development of female personality.[51]

Accounts of woman's sexual degradation, the third and final category of evangelical reportage, were more oblique. Neither heterosexual intercourse nor rape, for example, were ever detailed or called by name. In fact, with the exception of a few accounts of consecrated prostitution (that is, girls who inhabited religious shrines in India, offering themselves to male pilgrims as part of the worship), literal or graphic descriptions of women's sexual lives or of heathen sexual practices were nonexistent.[52] Victorian standards of propriety among the missionary ethnologists and their readership precluded overt discussion of sexual acts. The question, then, is how evangelicals created an impression of generalized sexual degradation among heathen women without resorting to explicit information about it.

The answer lies in the evangelical conception of the relationship between culture and the female life. Not only woman's personality but the timing and sequencing of her life's events were related to cultural considerations. This focus on the life of heathen women provided a less explicit but nonetheless effective way of talking about sexual degradation. The exploitation of heathen women was implied in a single transitional event that violated middle-class American values and contrasted sharply with middle-class American experience: the early loss of virginity through child marriage, which in turn implied the absence of "girlhood" or adolescence, as well as premature aging.

Women's missionary periodicals were uniformly preoccupied with the heathen practice of child and infant marriage, or what one commentator called " legalized lust."[53] The awful fate that awaited girls in non-Christian lands was a popular justification for the missionary school program overseas; an article by Abbie B. Child in an 1871 missionary edition for children stated the case quite clearly:

> I wonder if the girls in America, as they trudge along to school with their mother's good-by kiss still warm on their lips, with their heads full of ambition to be at the head of the class, or busy with merry sports . . . could ever guess the reason that the little Hawaiian girls want to go to school. I don't think you could, if you should try a long, long time. I will let you peep into one of Mrs. Bingham's letters, and see if she can tell us. Oh yes! this is it. She says that one day one of the natives came to her, holding a small brighteyed girl by the hand and said, "Won't you take my little Ruth, away from her sister's husband? He is determined to have her—not for his adopted daughter, not for a playmate for his children, but—for his wife!" That doesn't seem to

be such a very strange thing in that country for Mrs. Bingham says that there is another child by her side who wants to go [to school] for the same reason.[54]

Magazine stories and reports also detailed the family circumstances and the exotic weddings of child brides. In 1896 Clara A. Swain, a well-known Methodist medical missionary, wrote of a spectacular wedding ceremony that included 2,500 persons, 300 camels, 500 horses, and 9 elephants. Swain said of the child bride: "Poor little Bai, only twelve years old, with such a host of things to take charge of."[55] Commentary on the child bride's new responsibilities rarely included explicit mention of the consummation of the marriage, although the implication was clear, particularly in those cases where the age of the husband testified to his capability to perform adult heterosexual activity.

Child marriage was seen as an evil shared by many cultures, giving the reports a formulaic aspect: child brides, forced from their natal homes, were subjected to the tyranny of mothers-in-law and abused by husbands; sexual relations were generally intiated at about age thirteen or fourteen at the instigation of the mother-in-law; first children were born by age sixteen; when future births resulted in a succession of girls, the heathen mother was often compelled to strangle her own infant daughter. Female infanticide appeared to be the result of woman's desperation in a culture dominated by misogyny.[56]

Child marriage also resulted in a large number of "child widows," of whom there were an estimated half million in 1901.[57] The child widow, as presented in the magazines, was a young Hindu woman whose early marriage had never been consummated; yet she was forced unfairly to live a marked and dreary life as widow because of her spouse's death. A child widow could not remarry. Lilly Ryder Gracey told her readers: "Practically every Hindu girl of good caste is either a wife or a widow before she reaches the age of fourteen. In hundreds of thousands of cases the child [widow] has never known what it is to be a wife." Thus, the child widow, according to the Christian view, was a wife only on a technicality. Consequently, evangelical women were strenuous in their efforts to improve her lot, giving both emotional and monetary support to the campaign for a child widow school led by Pundita Ramabai, an educated, high-caste Indian convert to Christianity and herself a widow. Ramabai, who presented an authoritative voice on the general debasement of Hindu women, visited the United States on at least two occasions, telling the child widow story to missionary groups. Her school at Poona, India, pictured and described in the missionary magazines, was a bucolic and overtly Christian antidote to the social ostracism that followed the "child widow."[58]

According to evangelical ethnologists, the demographic consequences of child marriage were to be found in the "girlless villages" of the Middle and Far East. A typical report, from a Congregationalist missionary named Olive Parmelee, noted that in Turkey "one sees among the heathen only little girls and older women." A Methodist bishop acknowledged the same facts in 1871. The girlless village, which at first hearing might seem to refer to the effects of female infanti-

cide, was actually a trope, signifying the perceived absence of female adolescence in non-Christian society. "The women marry so very young," explained Olive Parmelee, "that they are deprived of all those pretty girlish years from twelve to twenty." In a similar vein, Ella J. Glover, a Methodist missionary in Tientsin, reported that "there is hardly a thing as girlhood in China outside of Christian schools."[59] The girlless village then was the ethnologists' way of reporting that among the heathen there was no observable period of dependency in which young women capable of reproduction were sheltered and protected by either family or community.

The absence of girlhood among the heathen was used to set the American middle-class experience in relief. "Think of our careless happy girls in their early teens in contrast with this little Hindu wife and mother," wrote a missionary in her life history of one Anandabai Joshee, "who was a mother at twelve." In 1906 a missionary council's description of Muslim women contrasted their "failing brain power" at fourteen or fifteen to the Christian girl's receptivity and quickness: "The heathen girl is like a flower closing," they wrote, "so far as mental efforts go." Provoked by the tragedy of a teenage Turkish mother, Parmelee told her readers: "As I look at her delicate face, with its almost childish look, I am reminded of dear little girls of thirteen or fourteen in America, whom we should shelter very carefully in the home circle for many years."[60] In fact, American middle-class families were doing just what Parmelee prescribed. By the 1890s adolescent girls among the middle class were delaying marriage until their mid-twenties, attending public high schools in disproportionately high numbers and leaving traditional forms of female work, such as domestic service, to newly arrived immigrant girls. Moreover, their time outside of school was increasingly organized around institutionally sponsored programs for girls, often cast in the model of their mothers' religious, charity, and reform work. All of the national women's foreign missionary groups, for example, encouraged the formation and development of young ladies associations.[61]

Unable to identify any comparable experience among non-Christians, women cast heathendom as girlless and as conducive to premature aging. Lilly Ryder Gracey told her young readers that women age rapidly under heathendom: "As a rule, youth is past at twenty-five; and at thirty or forty a woman looks sixty or seventy."[62] Repeatedly, the magazines linked premature aging to early marriage. Asked why Indian women had "no constitution" and died young, an evangelical writer responded:

> How can she [survive] with a child mother, child grandmother, and all her female ancestry in their teens? In the training of a little girl there are some things unspeakable which undermine her physically and morally; she herself may know the throes of childbirth while a little girl of thirteen or fourteen. . . . I think I am safe in saying that the number of physical wrecks is not much lower than that of healthy well-developed women . . . the[se] women are old while their sisters in this country are in their prime.[63]

When premature wifehood and motherhood were combined with the burdens of wearing awkward personal ornaments in a hot climate, the ethnologists believed they had found a reasonable explanation for the differences between the life expectancies of heathen and American Christian women.[64] "The Hindu woman, married at eleven or twelve, a grandmother before thirty, becomes a worn out drudge or a scolding terror by forty, if she lives so long," reported a 1900 magazine, "while our girls gain the whole happy period of girlhood and schooldays before their much later marriage."[65]

Simply put, female vulnerability was seen as the consequence and the burden of life in a non-Christian society. "Woman is still regarded as of old, in a non-Christian environment, as a scandal and a slave, a drudge and a disgrace, a temptation and a terror, a blemish and a burden," read the 1910 missionary audience. Helen Barrett Montgomery's double vision led her to confirm the correctness of James Shephard Dennis's observation in *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions* (1906): "Woman is at once the touchstone and stumbling block of all human systems [but] the sign and shame of the non-Christian world."[66] "A nation can never rise to any greatness when her women are not respected," reported a Christian convert from China; training manuals told youthful religious workers that "no race has ever risen above the condition of its women."[67] On the basis of the comparative ethnologies generated in the foreign mission crusade, the status of women came to be regarded by evangelical Protestants as an index of national accomplishment. Totally self-congratulatory in this respect, the ethnologists' comparisons supported the status quo, fueling the social Darwinist claim that the treatment of women in Protestant Christian lands marked the Anglo-Saxon race as further up the ladder of social evolution. In this sense, the ethnology created by American evangelical women simultaneously reinforced deference for patriarchy at home while encouraging a critical perspective in looking abroad.

Popular interest in the antithetical "other," provoked and sustained by religious self-study, had additional policy implications. Given that middle-class women in the foreign mission crusade focused their attentions on alien cultures and distant locales, they constituted the kind of attentive public, according to Ernest May, that began by the 1890s to see American expansion as in their interest.[68] Undoubtedly, the popularization of the notion of female exploitation at the hands of non-Christians is part and parcel of the story of how public opinion in the United States shifted from anticolonialism to genuine imperialism.

Although it is nearly impossible to pinpoint the extent to which women, as a disenfranchised group, influenced foreign policy, it is salient to point out that a number of prominent late nineteenth-century policy makers were tied, in one way or another, to the foreign mission crusade. For example, in 1896 President Grover Cleveland appeared before an enormous Presbyterian gathering in New York's Carnegie Hall, where he urged his fellow religionists to give generously to both domestic and foreign missions. "Our missionary impulse should be large enough and strong enough for both," he told an enthusiastic audience of

men, women, and children waving handkerchiefs, hats, and programs. Three years later William McKinley, a supporter of Methodist causes, attended the baccalaureate ceremonies at Mt. Holyoke, the oldest and most prestigious of the nation's missionary training schools for women. There, in a chapel filled with ferns and palms, McKinley sang the hymn "Angels of Light" as the Reverend M. W. Jacobus of the Hartford Theological Seminary implored the graduates to help others and teach the Christian life by following "this country of ours" as it goes out "with its unselfish civilization to bless the nations of the world." In September 1898, at the conclusion of the war with Spain, the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church wrote the president expressing concern for religious liberty in the Phillipines: "There is a strong feeling among the people against returning those islands to the political control of Spain."[69] While religious women were neither voters nor policy makers, they were an important constituency with great interest in the resolution of the Spanish American War and in foreign policy in general. Consequently, we should not obscure their significance as the wives and daughters of manufacturers, merchants, and investors who promoted colonial expansion in the service of wider markets.[70] Women's concerns, after all, provided merchant imperialism with a humanistic or religious rationale, explaining in part the American propensity for moral rhetoric.

Ultimately, what is most surprising about the missionary ethnology is the extent to which it fueled the Progressive outlook. When women praised the Christian state for its protection of women and children in the 1896 appeals to President Cleveland, they were not so much stating a fact as staking out a claim and providing a secular agenda for the future. From a generational perspective, the reform leaders of the Progressive period came to a maturity within a women's culture that had long regarded child marriage as a litmus test for barbarism. Alice Hamilton recalled that "the first appeal we ever heard for the righting of wrong outside our own country was in a speech at [Miss Porter's] school . . . on the Hindu child widow."[71] A literature directed at girls and written by both Christian converts and Anglo-American women was widespread. Books such as *The Third Daughter* (1906), *Pomegranate: The Story of a Chinese Schoolgirl* (1910), and *The Love Story of A Maiden of Cathay* (1911) circulated in schools and libraries, promoting the notion that crippled feet and absolute filial obedience were the twin burdens of Chinese girls.[72] Descriptions of women in foreign cultures were also widely disseminated in the secular periodical literature for women. The popular *Ladies Home Journal* regularly included stories such as "The Life of a Japanese Girl," "What Girl Life in Italy Means," or "The Engaged Girl in China." Although the contributors were not missionaries, but rather foreign-born observers in the United States, the message was essentially the same: that American women enjoyed a unique and enviable position. For example, in extolling the happiness, freedom, and security of women in the United States, Wu Ting-fang, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from China, reported in 1902 that the American

woman "walks as does no other woman on earth."[73] Even Flora Annie Steel, who was known as the female Kipling and who personally deplored the zealotry of missionaries in India, produced a number of popular short stories, such as "Mussumut Kirpo's Doll," which dealt with the lot of the Hindu child wife and the problems of premature motherhood.[74]

This is not to say that Progressives and missionary supporters were one and the same. Rather, it is to point out that in the 1920s, when women activists and social workers made legislation for the protection of women and children the sine qua non of their social program, they were confirming a set of assumptions that were already at the heart of the American religious community.[75] The best known of these Progressive efforts is, of course, the child welfare movement, which enlisted Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Mary Anderson, Lucy L. Flower, Lillian Wald, Grace Abbott, and Florence Kelley in the push for wide-ranging legislation to protect children from the exploitation and abuse of both employer and family. Moreover, social welfare workers and sociologists in the 1920s, allying themselves against eugenicists, began a reform campaign against child marriage in the United States, a campaign that raised the specter of female sexual degradation, domestic oppression, and intellectual deprivation just as the missionary ethnologies had done over the preceding half century.[76]

Railing against the fact that in 1925 twenty-three states allowed girls to be married at fourteen or even twelve years of age, the Progressive reformers also chastized the courts of the United States for allowing men who committed sex offenses against young girls to marry their "youthful victims" in order to avoid fines, incarceration, and even death.[77] Progressive reformers argued that concern for the future moral and educational development of the girl (and not the notion of "saving" her individual or family reputation) should determine judicial actions. Mary E. Richmond, the founder of social case work and an author of *Child Marriages* (1925), claimed that between 1890 and 1924 more than a third of a million American women began their married life as child brides under the age of fifteen.[78] Published case studies of both native- and foreign-born American parents pushing their daughters into deleterious premature marriages gave the drive to raise the marriageable age and maximize enforcement of existing laws an enormous sense of urgency. Parental consent to child marriages was uniformly regarded as a sign of ignorance, greed, or depravity; Richmond argued persuasively that where parental insight and guidance were lacking, "the state must be able to throw some safeguard around the young woman."[79] While sociological studies of marriage and the family debated the most appropriate age for marriage (within a range of respectable options), there was never any doubt about the states' role in the process. "Marriage is a matter which should be regulated by the state, not by parents," wrote Ruth Reed, a professor of economics and sociology at Mt. Holyoke in 1929.[80]

Between 1919 and 1930 the "tragic mischief" of child marriage came under increasing scrutiny and control: the marriageable age was raised in at least half the states, advance notice of marriage was increasingly required, and proof of

age was standardized and strengthened. Significantly, courts began to intercede in preventing child marriages; in Monroe County, New York, for example, parental consent to the marriage of a girl under sixteen was simply regarded as proof of improper guardianship, resulting in the girl's removal from the home.[81]

Although child marriage in the United States never actually involved the kind of numbers claimed by the Progressive reformers, it was a popular rallying cry with a direct appeal to large numbers of middle-class Protestant women already conversant with the missionary ethnology and its didactic use of the antithetical "other." From lessons learned in foreign mission study, such women extracted the principle that an intrusive role for the state was in their best interests; in effect, protection by the state, rather than equality in it, became their concern.[82] American girlhood, so the thinking went, could be insured by force of laws regulating marriageable age, school attendance, age of consent, and employment. Thus, middle-class women who a generation earlier wishfully touted protection of their sex and their children as the distinctive characteristic of the Christian state, embraced Progressive reform, as they embraced imperialism, precisely because it reflected their understanding of the world. In sum, the popular ethnology developed by evangelical women in the post–Civil War foreign mission crusade had a life beyond the pervasive local auxiliary where it was first infused into the larger culture and ultimately helped to shape an American self-definition.

11. "My Spirit Eye": Some Functions of Spiritual and Visionary Experience in the Lives of Five Black Women Preachers, 1810–1880

Jean M. Humez

> I was obedient to the heavenly vision—as I see all that I held forth, that is, with my spirit eye.
>
> *Rebecca Jackson*

> It is known that the blind have the sense of hearing in a manner much more acute than those who can see. . . . So it may be with such as I am, who has never had more than three months of schooling; and wishing to know much of the way and law of God, have therefore watched the more closely, the operations of the Spirit, and have in consequence been led thereby.
>
> *Jarena Lee*[1]

The creation of a separate, all-black Methodist church by free black people in antebellum America is generally portrayed as the accomplishment of a series of influential male religious leaders. Histories of African Methodism properly emphasize the heroism of former slave Bishop Richard Allen, who, with a few like-minded associates, rejected the racial discrimination that characterized white Methodism in late eighteenth-century Philadelphia and went on to found the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. However, in chronicling the subsequent growth of the church, historians have offered only fleeting glimpses of the part played by black women in shaping this multifaceted institution, which was to serve the free black community of the antebellum North in a great variety of ways—social, educational, economic, and political, as well as religious. This omission is due, in part, to the nature of sources used. The church's own historians and modern scholars have alike emphasized institutional records, such as the minutes of ecclesiastical conferences (at which women, excluded from the clerical hierarchy, were not permitted to speak or vote) and the memoirs and writings of the ordained male clergy.[2]

The moment one turns to the published autobiographies of black women with AME backgrounds who became itinerant preachers during the nineteenth century, the picture changes dramatically. It becomes apparent that women were involved from the outset in creating and supporting the grass-roots organizational units of African Methodism—the class meetings and praying bands—

and in contributing largely to the spiritual lives of the communities that supported the AME churches. Moreover, the women's writings show the important part played by women in major ideological conflicts within African Methodism over the century.

AME women challenged the male clerical leadership on a series of interrelated and vital religious and organizational issues. First, women were among the most passionate defenders of an "old-fashioned" revivalistic emphasis on spiritual and ecstatic experience and expression as the "heart" of religion. But increasingly dominant in the upper echelons of the church in the 1840s and afterwards were those who thought the church should promote a more restrained, rationalistic, "educated" approach to worship. Second, many AME women were convinced that it was possible and necessary to attain a perfectly sin-free state in life (Holiness). They defended their right to this doctrine and to the ecstatic experience that ushered in this state of Holiness, even as hostility to Holiness became increasingly common among AME ministers. Third, a surprising number of women struggled with the male clerical hierarchy over the right of women to preach and over the degree of formal recognition the church would give to those women who asserted that right. Frequently, to judge from the autobiographies and other church records, these three struggles were entwined: the woman preacher was a believer in Holiness and asserted her right to preach largely on the ground of spiritual inspiration rather than educational credentials or formal ordination.[3]

A group of five autobiographies by black women preachers with AME backgrounds provides suggestive evidence, though it is often fragmentary and admittedly subjective, on these conflicts within African Methodism (which surely affected many women who did not rise to leadership positions and many men in the church as well.)[4] At the same time, these personal accounts offer invaluable insight into the functions of spiritual and visionary experience in the lives of the oppressed. For the woman with a call to preach, extraordinary spiritual and visionary experience gave a strong claim to exercise a public religious leadership role. Beyond this, it enabled her to discover and tap sources of personal strength that might otherwise have been inaccessible. In the cases of these five women, extraordinary spiritual experience was clearly a valuable resource in their struggles for autonomy in their personal lives, as well as in their work as itinerant preachers. An initial review of their situations as black women in white America will identify the array of enemies, both external and internal, which had to be confronted and defeated before they would engage in the building and critiquing of the AME church.

These five women, Elizabeth (last name unrecorded), Jarena Lee, Rebecca Cox Jackson, Julia A. J. Foote, and Amanda Berry Smith, had active careers covering a period of about seventy years—from 1810, when Elizabeth began to preach, until the later 1870s, when Amanda Smith left the United States for an extended missionary career. Three of the five tell of personal or family experiences with slavery. Though they escaped the rigors of the plantation system of

the deep South, the families of Elizabeth, Amanda Smith, and Julia Foote knew at first hand the anxiety and ambivalence of life under the slave systems of the border state of Maryland and the northern state of New York at the end of the eighteenth century. The parents of Amanda Smith and Julia Foote lived with the hope of buying their families' freedom through double toil, knowing that persistence, skill, luck, and religion were among the many factors that could tip the balance and spell the difference between slavery and freedom.[5]

Elizabeth and Amanda Smith, both born in slavery, credited sudden heartfelt religious crises with mitigating the most traumatic effects of slavery on their family lives. Elizabeth's childhood conversion and call to preach climaxed a six-month depression, or "mourning," which followed her separation from her parents. Thereafter, despite some backsliding, she was able to view herself as one destined to act in a significant drama rather than merely a hopeless victim of the incomprehensible cruelty of slavery. In Amanda Smith's account of her childhood, the conversion of the young mistress in the slaveholding family was associated with liberation. The young white woman intervened with her family to prevent the planned separation of Smith's family. Central to the plot of this story were Smith's pious mother and grandmother, who acted as religious mentors to the young mistress, encouraging and supporting her in the Methodist conversion that was anathema to her proud slaveholding parents. The story, which Smith heard many times from her mother while growing up, taught her the possibility of a religious fellowship among black and white Methodist women, strong enough to overcome the routine, thoughtless cruelty, as well as the economic self-interest, of the slaveholder.[6] The parents of all the autobiographers but Jarena Lee were Methodists, it should be added, so that the old style of Methodist piety and family loyalty were deeply interconnected for them.[7]

A strong common thread running through the autobiographies is the longing for more formal education. A combination of the material exigencies of slavery and poverty, racial discrimination, and sex roles in the family operated to limit severely the educational opportunities of all five women. Though the fathers, brothers, and husbands of these women were doubtless excluded from many formal educational opportunities themselves, they nevertheless managed to attain functional literacy more often than the mothers, sisters, and daughters. The slave fathers of Elizabeth, Julie Foote, and Amanda Smith were all literate—Elizabeth and Foote recall with pleasure their fathers' reading Scripture at family worship on Sundays—while Smith's mother may have been the only slave woman in the group to read. Smith, Lee, and Foote all mention having a few months' formal schooling themselves—only enough to assure them rudimentary literacy. An important reason for such brief schooling was racial discrimination: "There were no schools where colored children were allowed" in the Schenectady area in Foote's day.[8] Smith, in rural Pennsylvania, attended an integrated but discriminatory country school, where "all the white children had to have their full lessons, and if time was left the colored children had a chance."[9] Another important reason was the responsibility of older girls for their younger

siblings while their mothers worked. Both Foote and Jackson refer to the curtailment of their schooling for this reason.[10]

Four of the five autobiographers were married and experienced major disappointments and difficulties in the marriages. All four describe a central conflict between their duty as wives and their strong sense of religious vocation. There are two variations on this theme. In the first pattern, followed by Jarena Lee and Amanda Smith, the women married in their late twenties (Smith for a second time), having already experienced the call to preach. They seem to have seen marriage to AME clergymen as the shortest route to answering their own call, only to find they were mistaken. They describe the shock of discovering that marriage entailed moving away from "congenial and spiritual" female religious peers in Philadelphia to their husbands' places of work, where they felt isolated and forlorn. Smith experienced the additional disappointment of discovering that her husband had not really been serious about pursuing his career as a preacher, thus cheating her of the role of minister's wife she had dreamed of.[11] Motherhood took its toll of time and energy from Lee and Smith, but held little reward for them as they each witnessed the deaths of all but one of their children. That child, however, may explain in part their resolute endurance of disappointing marriages, until widowhood brought them freedom to follow their calls to preach.

Julia Foote and Rebecca Jackson were already married at the time they experienced the call to preach, and neither had children to deepen her dependency on her husband. It is likely in their cases that dissatisfaction with marriage was both a cause and a result of their new wholehearted commitment to holiness and to an evangelical career. Their husbands had disappointed them by initially wavering, and finally abandoning, their own commitments to religious life. Even more deeply alienating, it appears, was the failure of the husband to understand or fully sympathize with the wife when she began to undergo unusually intense religious experience. Both husbands saw their wives' behavior as quite mad, in fact, and Foote's spouse even threatened to send her "back home or to the crazy house."[12] Even when they prayed together, Foote became aware of a "dark shadow," "an indescribable something" between herself and her husband, and in a matter of months they were negotiating a separation. Rebecca Jackson, who was living in her brother's household with husband, brother, and brother's children in Philadelphia, never received more than lukewarm and vacillating support from either man as she began to experience her extraordinary visionary dreams and spiritual gifts. Yet even these childless wives, Foote and Jackson, felt bound to their husbands by a sense of their duty as Christian wives and the necessity of retaining a good name. Thus, Foote allowed the obvious incompatibility to grow until her husband was willing to take the initiative of leaving for a career at sea; and Rebecca Jackson remained with her husband six more years, until an inner voice positively commanded her to announce that her service to him was at an end.[13]

Outside of marriage or in addition to it, the work opportunities of the autobiographers were as limited as their educational experiences, and for the same

range of reasons. Elizabeth in slavery, and Lee, Foote, and Smith in legal freedom, all record working for longer or shorter periods as domestic servants in the homes of white families. Marriage did not automatically secure them freedom from wage labor for whites. Smith continued to work as a live-in domestic servant for a time during her first marriage and during her second marriage took in laundry. Rebecca Jackson was in the most secure and enviable position of any of the women working for white employers. She lived in her own household and her skill as a seamstress was relatively valuable. The husbands and brothers of these women nevertheless had access to more varied and respected work opportunities, both paid and unpaid. Among the women's male relatives were sailors, clergymen, a tanner, and a coachman.[14]

Using these autobiographies to sketch a composite portrait, the nineteenth-century AME woman with the call to preach emerges as a hardworking, intensely respectable woman, dissatisfied with marriage and family life, with strong aspirations to better herself, but restricted by education and work opportunities. What might the heartfelt religious experience encouraged by early Methodism —especially Holiness Methodism—reinforced by the extraordinary spiritual and visionary experiences of informal or folk religion, have meant to such a woman? The autobiographers provide some very interesting initial answers to this question.

Conversion and sanctification were the two primary experiences of spiritual rebirth officially sanctioned by Holiness Methodism.[15] Usually preceded by an extended period of anguish, self-condemnation, and guilty feelings ("conviction for sin"), Methodist conversion brought about instantaneous positive change in one's whole self-image and orientation toward ultimate reality, leaving one with the joyful sense of being a completely "new creature." "Sanctification" was a kind of redoubling of one's assurance of transformation by grace. This controversial second blessing signaled entrance into a state of Christian perfection, purity, holiness, or perfect love, in which one felt permanently beyond the reach of committing further intentional sin.[16]

Rebecca Jackson's description of her conversion during a terrific electrical storm, when she was literally sick with terror, emphasizes the power of contact with the divinity within her, which utterly overturned the emotional order of her being. Her self-condemnation vanished as the gathering storm broke:

> My spirit was light, my heart was filled with love for God and all mankind. And the lightning, which was a moment ago the messenger of death, was now the messenger of peace, joy and consolation. And I rose from my knees, ran down stairs, opened the door to let the lightning in the house, for it was like sheets of glory to my soul.[17]

Nature and God no longer bent their energies to destroy her. Instead, they lovingly provided a nimbus of energy, lightning turned into "sheets of glory," as visible witness to her internal transformation, her connection with divinity, her centrality in the divine scheme of things.

An important part of the experience of becoming a new creature during

conversion (and sanctification) was conquest of angry, malicious, revengeful feelings, as well as fear, and replacement of those with "love for God and all mankind." The conversion experiences of Jarena Lee, Rebecca Jackson, and Amanda Smith all suggest that one of the most necessary, emotionally transforming results of "getting religion" for a black woman was learning to face and control the debilitating repressed anger and fear provoked by living with white racism.[18] Amanda Smith's story of her progress toward spiritual liberation is the most explicit of the three in naming white racism as the source of the negative emotions she sought to control. A comparison of her conversion and sanctification experiences, which were separated by several years, shows a remarkable growth, both in her own consciousness and in her ability to reject the negative feelings about blackness engendered by her experiences in predominantly white settings.

Smith had been partially converted at a revival when she was thirteen years old. A young white woman, "a power for good everywhere she went," invited Smith, the only black person in the church, to go forward with her and seek conversion.[19] On joining the church, however, Smith found that racial discrimination flourished even in the Methodist class meetings, where a black member "could not be led in class before a white person, must wait till the white ones were through."[20] Even years later, when Smith experienced a "flood of peace and joy," a "rolling away of the burden of sin," ambivalent feelings about blackness persisted. She expected her external appearance to change with her emotional transformation:

> Then I sprang to my feet, all around was light, I was new. I looked at my hands, they looked new; I took hold of my self and said, "Why, I am new, I am new all over." . . . I went into the dining room; we had a large mirror that went from the floor to the ceiling, and I went and looked in it to see if anything had transpired in my color, because there was something wonderful had taken place inside of me, and it really seemed to me it was outside too.[21]

But in the sanctification experience, Smith, now a more mature woman, realized the extent to which she had previously been intimidated by the mystique of white skin, and rejected the power of whites to control her feelings about herself. Again the only black person in a white church, Smith was initially tempted by a satanic inner voice to smother her outcry at sanctification. The voice whispered, "Look, look at the white people, mind, they will put you out." She then committed the act she felt to be tabooed in a white church, by shouting or giving highly visible physical evidence of her blessing. Having asserted her own value and autonomy, Smith secured the final transformation. She describes the change this way: "I seemed to feel a hand, the touch of which I cannot describe. It seemed to press me gently on the top of my head, and I felt something part and roll down and cover me like a great cloak!" This experience was followed directly by the receipt of a scriptural message from a supernatural source:

> Somehow, I always had a fear of white people, . . . a kind of fear because they were white, and were there, and I was black, and was here! But that morning on Green Street, as I stood on my feet trembling, I heard these words distinctly. . . . "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." . . . And as I looked at white people that I had always been afraid of, now they looked so small. The great mountain had become a mole-hill.[22]

Her conquest of demoralizing angry and frightened feelings related to white prejudice was not as complete as the sanctification account implied, but it was a moment of recognition and reorientation upon which Smith built for the rest of her life. By the time she wrote her autobiography, she was an outspoken critic of white racism and wrote of her pride in her "royal" and "substantial" color.[23]

Jarena Lee wrote of her conversion during a sermon, shortly after discovering African Methodism for the first time, with a metaphor strikingly similar to Smith's, that of shedding an enveloping garment or skin. For Lee:

> That instant, it appeared to me as if a garment, which had entirely enveloped my whole person, even to my fingers' ends, split at the crown of my head, and was stripped away from me, passing like a shadow from my sight—when the glory of God seemed to cover me in its stead.[24]

What touched off this experience was Lee's discovery of "one sin" in her heart—"this was *malice* against one particular individual who had strove deeply to injure me, which I resented"—and her decision to give up her right to this resentment. "At this discovery, I said, *Lord* I forgive every creature."[25] Lee does not indicate whether the individual she hated was white or black. But her account does suggest that she waited until she was in the relative safety of communion with her own people before allowing herself to be stripped of the defensive armor of anger. Previously, when she had attended a white Methodist church in Philadelphia for several months, she had felt "a wall between [her] and a communion with that people." But when hearing Richard Allen, the former slave who was founder of African Methodism, preach for the first time to a black congregation, she knew that "this [was] the people to which [her] heart [united]," and was converted.

Conversion and sanctification experiences also helped the married women face and act on their dissatisfactions with marriage, though in a variety of ways. At one end of the scale, Rebecca Jackson's sanctification experience included a visionary insight into the fall of man, which brought the conviction that celibacy was a necessary ingredient of holy living. After sanctification she wrote, "If I had all the earth, I would give it, to be a single woman. How to return home to my husband again I knowed not."[26] She did in fact return home. But once there, she undertook a regimen of ascetic exercises: fasting, weeping, and sustained prayer. These, it seems, helped induce the visionary and spiritual experience by which she came increasingly to guide her waking life. At the same time,

Jackson's "excesses," both ecstatic and self-mortifying behavior, functioned to convince her husband that her body was no longer simply a natural woman's, his wife's, to which he had a sexual claim through marriage. Rather, it was a vessel or consecrated instrument through which the divine will expressed itself. When filled with divine power, she could be literally untouchable.[27]

On the other hand, Smith used the sanctification experience to win a more limited degree of emotional autonomy from an unhappy marriage and physical independence from an unkind husband. As she tells it, a woman friend who had experienced sanctification found Smith weeping at a low point in her second marriage and confided that it was "sanctifying grace" that had enabled her to "endure" her own husband's unkindness.[28] But Smith found her husband's continual presence, as well as his skeptical and rationalistic attitude toward sanctification, to be positive barriers to her pursuit of the experience that would give her power to endure.[29] She therefore refused to accompany him when he relocated a second time because of employment. In the emotional space provided by his absence during the weekdays, Smith found the desired second blessing, which allowed her to stay nominally married, though virtually separated, for the last year of her husband's life.

Beyond the conversion and sanctification experiences, which were contacts with divine power officially sanctioned by Methodism, the autobiographers also sought and recorded a wide range of spiritual gifts and visionary experiences common in folk religion. These were also exploited as sources of personal strength and vocational skill. They included prophetic dreams, waking or trance-state visions; guidance in one's movements or decision making by audible voices, external or internal, or by randomly selected scriptural passages; telepathic experience; gifts of healing through prayer; and even, on rare occasions, what Rebecca Jackson calls "gifts of power": semimagical interventions in threatening natural or human events.[30]

One important function of these gifts was to give assurance of divine protection against physical danger from natural or human sources. Elizabeth, Jackson, Lee, and Smith all record instances in their itinerant careers when they felt threatened by potential mob violence, arrest, drowning, or savage dogs. Elizabeth, for example, was nearly arrested for opposing slavery in the prewar South. In the 1870s Smith, contemplating attending a camp meeting in the South, feared a possible Ku Klux Klan attack.[31] The autobiographies also acknowledge the miraculous protection provided by divine intervention. Jarena Lee, for instance, described an occasion when the touch of an invisible hand warned her of harm ahead on the road, and she turned back from her journey. Another time, a premonitory impression of drowning caused her to change her plan to attend an AME conference in Baltimore and go instead to an antislavery convention in New York. Joining the antislavery society, she then believed, was an action to which the "spirit of God" guided her.[32] Rebecca Jackson gave many instances when her "gifts of foresight" or premonition had a protective effect. Most notable among these was the the occasion when she announced to her husband,

after six years of conflict over her right to a celibate life, that she would "serve him no longer." He

> sought my life day and night. And if I had not had the gift of foresight given to me at the beginning, I must have fell in death by his hands. . . . By obedience to the light that was revealed in my soul . . . I always was able to know what he was agoing to do before he did himself. . . . So when he had tried all the ways that was in his power, and found that he failed, then he came out and confessed that he was a wicked man, and asked me to forgive him, and said, "Now Rebecca, you may sleep at your own house, I will trouble you no more. Go forth and do the will of God."[33]

For a woman about to embark on a career as a preacher and controversialist, the educational function of visionary and spiritual gifts was almost as important as physical protection. As Rebecca Jackson put it most memorably, "There was no mortal that I could go to and gain instruction, so it pleased God in His love and mercy to teach me in dreams and visions and revelation and gifts."[34] Jackson herself learned to read through prayer as a middle-aged adult, after her preacher-brother failed to keep a promise to teach her.[35] She also described waking out of a dream in which a fatherly instructor had shown her three books and promised to teach her to read them, to find the dream figure of the instructor still there:

> And then I awoke, and I saw him as plain as I did in my dream. And after that, he taught me daily. And when I would be reading and come to a hard word, I sould see him standing by my side, and he would teach me the word right.[36]

Visionary instruction could compensate not only for limited literacy or access to books and teachers but for a lack of physical mobility as well. Elizabeth touchingly describes a kind of premonitory preparation for her later itinerant career, through imagery projected on the screen of her mind when she was still a child:

> I was often carried to distant lands and shown places where I should have to travel and deliver the Lord's message. Years afterwards, I found myself visiting those towns and countries that I had seen in the light as I sat home at my sewing—places of which I had never heard.[37]

Contact with the divine through visionary and other supernatural experience also gave the woman with a call to preach confidence that she would be assisted in speaking in public by a power which all would acknowledge as greater than herself. All of the autobiographers describe being literally forced to speak in public by the promptings of the spirit, despite their personal feelings of unworthiness, shame, shyness, and anxiety over being thought forward or immodest by their neighbors, family, and ministers. Jarena Lee, for example, emphasized the involuntary nature of her action in rising one day during a

church service at Bethel, when the regular preacher "seemed to have lost the spirit": "In the same instant, I sprang, as by altogether supernatural impulse, to my feet, when I was aided from above to give an exhortation on the very text which my brother Williams had taken."[38]

Obedience to spiritual guidance helped some of the AME women find courage not only to speak in public before mixed-sex crowds but also to confront the greater difficulties of speaking before white and racially mixed groups.[39] Hostility could be expected from women and men, white and black, and the need to justify one's course of action was very great. Amanda Smith, accused by some blacks of being a "white folks' nigger" when she rose to prominence in the predominantly white Holiness Camp Meeting circles of the 1870s, continually tested her relation to the divine, to make sure that she was led day to day in all her decisions by the will of God rather than her own. As an "ex-washwoman," she needed to know that any money she received to support her evangelical career was designated as hers by Providence. This conviction spared her the need to feel beholden to white donors, from whom much of the money for travel expenses came.[40] Rebecca Jackson, who also spent much of her middle career ministering to and living among predominantly white Perfectionists and Shakers, recorded in her autobiographical narrative an early dream in which she made griddlecakes for an ever-increasing crowd of white people. She interpreted this dream as a divine ordination, predicting and therefore justifying her nurturant ministry to a "strange people."[41]

None of the women could claim the formal educational requirements for the AME ministry, which became increasingly stiff as the century wore on. This may help explain why they stood staunchly on the claim of direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit as the primary, if not the *only*, credentials that ought to be required for spiritual leadership.[42] Elizabeth's experience in the slave state of Virginia showed how important it was to be able to make this claim, especially when the preaching had political content or otherwise threatened the civil or religious establishment:

> The people there would not believe that a colored woman could preach. And moreover, as she had no learning, they strove to imprison me because I spoke against slavery; and being brought up, they asked by what authority I spoke? and if I had been ordained? I answered, not by the commission of men's hands: if the Lord had ordained me, I needed nothing better.[43]

If a woman was to base her claim to a career of itinerant preaching on internal experience, "ordination" by the Lord, it was vital that she be firmly convinced of the absolute authenticity both of her spirit-inspiration and of her call to preach. All the autobiographers record repeated efforts on the part of the divine to convince them of their duty to preach the gospel, through at least one, and frequently a series of, dreams and visions. Lee saw the visionary "form and figure of a pulpit, with a Bible lying thereon," and this was followed by a dream in which she "took a text and preached in [her] sleep."[44] Smith dreamed of

preaching to multitudes, a dream that helped her pull out of a serious illness right after her first marriage. Just before beginning her itinerant career, after her second husband's death, Smith was in a church and saw a star in the shape of a tulip over the pulpit, "and a voice distinctly said to [her] 'Go preach.'"[45]

As was traditional for prophets to do, these women shrank from the call, feeling unworthy and afraid, and consequently experienced bouts of depression and joylessness, which they described as being "under a cloud" or living in "darkness," until finally, almost forcibly, persuaded by a culminating spiritual experience to accept the call. After Julia Foote refused to believe she could preach, her illness actually brought on the trance in which her final, imperative visionary call to preach was received—and this in turn gave her the courage to assert herself against a scoffing, skeptical clergyman.[46]

An important reason for hesitating to obey the internal promptings of the divine voice immediately was the possibility of satanic deception. Lee, Jackson, and Smith were all well aware that some supernatural events, some internal voices, were not of divine origin. All record occasions when they were nearly or actually led astray by believing internal suggestions or promptings by spirits other than the "true spirit of God."[47] The issue of authenticity of voice was so important to Rebecca Jackson that she made a specific pact with God early in her career to follow internal guidance unquestioningly, in return for the ability to distinguish "His spirit from all others" unerringly.[48]

Having confidence that the voice within her was truly divine, a woman who answered the call to preach by spirit-inspiration could forcefully assert her right to a meaningful career outside of the domestic circle and beyond the control of the white employer as well. That she needed to be forceful is indicated in the autobiographies by the level of resistance to a woman's ministry. Opposition to female preaching was particularly strong from some clergymen of the AME churches, according to the autobiographers. Elizabeth felt "despised on account of this gracious calling. . . . the elders came out with indignation for [her] holding meetings contrary to discipline—being a woman."[49] Though Jarena Lee won the personal support of Bishop Richard Allen on a second attempt, she continued to be challenged and harassed during her itinerant career in the 1820s and 1830s, having to appeal on more than one occasion to the bishop or the conference for vindication.[50] Rebecca Jackson bitterly recorded persecution in the mid-1830s by three AME ministers who tried to stop her from preaching and said she "ought not to live."[51] Julia Foote was excommunicated by the Boston AME church in the early 1840s after refusing to give up preaching her "holiness stuff."[52]

Even as late as 1872, Amanda Smith, assumed to be an advocate of women's ordination because of her plain Quaker-style dress—which also seems to have been an indication of Holiness affiliation—was "frozen out" of an AME general conference by clergy opposed to women preachers.[53] Those historical records of the church to which I have had access confirm the impression of the autobiographies, of repeated, fierce, and ultimately unresolved conflict throughout the

century over the right of women to exercise religious leadership within the organization, either as lay, licensed, or ordained clergy.[54]

The autobiographies suggest many reasons why some of the male AME clergy strenuously opposed the efforts of their sisters to preach. Some clearly feared the schismatic effect of the charismatic woman preacher, particularly the Holiness-movement affiliate whose doctrine was controversial. Others may have felt personally threatened by the spectacle of members of the inferior sex ably "aleading the men," as some of Rebecca Jackson's opponents apparently did.[55] But for the AME national leadership from the 1840s onward, two fundamental challenges seem to have been posed by the women preachers beyond the considerable threat to male authority in the family as they left their "appropriate sphere of labor."[56] In the first place, their emphasis on the experience of spirit-inspiration as the primary qualification for spiritual leadership implicitly challenged the authority of the hierarchical episcopal system taken over nearly unaltered from Anglo-American Methodism and also conflicted with some of the most important policy decisions being made by the church's national leadership. Under the guidance of Daniel Alexander Payne, the AME church from the 1840s onward moved to increase the educational qualifications necessary for clerical appointments at all levels. At the same time, the leaders attempted to restrain or eliminate altogether those ecstatic or spirit-inspired practices from informal Afro-American religion that they saw as "extravagant," "heathenish," and mere "baptized superstition."[57] Both kinds of reform, of course, made it more difficult for anyone to preach solely on the basis of spirit-inspiration within AME churches.

The second challenge of the women preachers, particularly those associated with Holiness doctrine who had experienced and preached sanctification, was their critique of the increasing sophistication or worldliness of the churches. They apparently threatened those among the AME membership and leadership who were better educated, more fashionably dressed, took pleasure in the social functions of the churches, approved of "fairs and festivals," of choral and even instrumental music, and were in general less interested in living a life centered wholly on religious experiences and values.[58]

Women preachers were not always opposed by their male clerical brothers. Jarena Lee, Julia Foote, and Amanda Smith, in fact, received important aid and support at various times in their careers from certain AME clergy and even from some bishops.[59] The support of other like-minded women, however, proved most crucial in helping them make the initial decision to undertake a religious life and in providing them with a place to practice the necessary speaking skills. The female prayer band, often formed in the wake of a Holiness revival by a small group of women, was a smaller, more private and informal religious association than the class meeting run by the Methodist church. The practice of alternating leadership in these bands, which met weekly in one of the member's homes, allowed many women to develop skills in testimonial, prayer leading, and exhortation. They help explain why so many women emerged as itinerant

preachers out of Methodism—especially Holiness Methodism—over the nineteenth century.[60]

The autobiographies make clear, however, that these groups did not always provide a fully satisfactory fellowship for their members. Rebecca Jackson, for example, detailed some jealous feelings among the women in her Holiness Covenant meeting. Similarly, Amanda Smith referred to concealing both her desire for sanctification and her longing for a vision of Jesus from her small praying band of four women, "for fear they might say something to deter [her]."[61] But these problems did not negate the fundamental value of such groups, which was spelled out by Jarena Lee when telling of the pain caused by the separation from her band in Philadelphia when she married: "None but those who have been in sweet fellowship with such as really love God, and have together drank bliss and happiness from the same fountain, can tell how dear such company is."[62]

In addition to the moral support of such "sweet fellowship" in the praying bands, the autobiographers point to the importance of individual lay women and men offering their own homes as places where their sisters could preach. Although threatened with excommunication, people "opened their houses" when the churches refused them space or when the woman simply could not yet risk the full public exposure of preaching in a church, as happened with Jarena Lee at the outset of her career. The autobiographies also suggest that there was an admirable sense of group solidarity among the women themselves. In defending their own right to preach through spirit-inspiration rather than education, they were also necessarily defending the right of any other woman or unlettered man to preach who had the appropriate spiritual experience. Both Lee and Foote argued on scriptural grounds that women and poor men were filled with the spirit as easily as anyone else, as in the days of prophets and apostles, and were among the earliest preachers.[63] The feeling of group solidarity is also suggested by the approving tone in which Lee, Foote, and Smith wrote as they documented the accomplishments of other sister preachers.[64]

Women preachers frequently traveled in pairs, probably for mutual protection as well as for companionship. Amanda Smith shed further light on this practice. When she was about to take to the road for the first time as an itinerant preacher, Satan assailed her with the suggestion that if she were to go alone, they would say she was "going to look for a husband, like others."[65] With divine aid, Smith ultimately overcame this fear of a tarnished reputation and often traveled alone, but she may not have been typical in doing so. Lee frequently traveled with another speaker; and Foote and Jackson both found permanent female companions not long after the outset of their itinerant careers.

Women's religious friendships often involved intense emotional attachments, which, for a modern reader with an interest in lesbian history, may seem to have undeniable erotic components, despite the antisexual nature of the Methodist Holiness ideology to which the women subscribed. This was probably the case with Rebecca Jackson, who revealed her feelings for her lifelong disciple and

successor, Rebecca Perot, in several dreams.[66] Amanda Smith's pain at falling out with her "band sister" also indicates a relationship of great intensity, but one not fully enough described to characterize clearly:

> I thought it would kill me, but I see now what it meant. God was to separate me unto Himself, and I must be weaned. . . . O, how I was wrapped up in her. . . . I begged the Lord to cut me loose. . . . O what a dying it was! It seemed my heart was bound around with cords and to let go would take my life, but I cried, "O, Lord, cut me loose," and it was as though someone snapped with a knife the cords around my heart, and I breathed freely.[67]

In reading these autobiographies, we catch glimpses of what the ministry of a woman might have meant to the other women who heard her and who shared her longing for a holy, unified, and serene life on earth. Jarena Lee recorded being approached on many occasions by other women who felt the call to preach, but were unable to act on it.[68] It must have been critical for them to know that a mere woman like themselves was answering the call. Elizabeth told of a time when the Spirit directed her to the house of a poor widow "in one of the lowest and worst streets of Baltimore," where she held a meeting, "and while [she] was speaking, the house seemed filled with light." When the watchmen came to break up the meeting because the neighbors complained of the "racket," Elizabeth responded defiantly, "A good racket is better than a bad racket. How do they rest when the ungodly are dancing and fiddling till midnight? Why are not *they* molested by the watchmen?" When she finished her harangue, the watchman "turned pale and trembled, and begged [her] pardon, . . . took leave of [her] in a comely manner and wished [them] success."[69] This sort of power to defend oneself and one's peers from the harassment of local authorities and the scorn of the rich must have had enormous appeal to many a "poor widow."

But perhaps the most revealing comment in these sources about the significance of a woman's ministry to others is contained in Amanda Smith's aside to her readers:

> Though your hands are employed in doing your daily business, it is no bar to the soul's communion with Jesus. Many times over my wash-tub and ironing table, and while making my bed and sweeping my house and washing my dishes, I have had some of the richest blessings. . . . How many mother's hearts I have cheered when I told them that the blessing of sanctification did not mean isolation from all the natural and legitimate duties of life, as some seem to think. Not at all. It means God in you, supplying all your needs according to His riches in glory.[70]

For those women who did not themselves aspire to an itinerant ministry, but felt the very same vulnerabilities and sense of powerlessness in their everyday lives that Smith and her sister preachers had felt, this was the fundamental meaning of visionary and spiritual experience, as well as conversion and sanctification. Put this way, "God in you, supplying all your needs," it hardly seemed

as threatening a message as it undoubtedly was to so many AME clergymen. Yet it did contain the radical assertion, repeated through many religious reform movements in Christian history, that the church—whether considered as a physical structure, a social organization, or a guardian and monopolizer of theological knowledge and inherited religious authority—was unnecessary to the individual's salvation. All that was necessary was that a believer should be able to release and experience fully the power and wisdom—the God—within her. And this was possible, said these women, no matter how apparently powerless a person was in the circumstances of her external life.

IV. Articulating a New Structure

Introduction

The three chapters in part IV discuss nineteenth- and twentieth-century American women consciously engaged in expanding women's roles into the public sphere and articulating a feminist ideology. In redefining the nature and role of femininity, some reformers drew on certain elements of the cult of true womanhood to attack one of its central prescriptions—that woman's appropriate sphere was in the home. Others drew on the egalitarian political tradition of the American revolution to reject the cult of true womanhood entirely. The reformers also differed in their attitude toward Christianity. The majority considered it a crucial force in elevating woman's status, while an iconoclast like Elizabeth Cady Stanton considered it a major cause of female oppression. These intellectual differences meant that the woman's movement produced a sharp debate among feminists as well as political and ideological conflict with those who defended the status quo.

Gayle Gullett explores the attempt of clubwomen in San Francisco in 1913 to use the power they had won by gaining the vote in California in 1911 to reform society in women's interests. They sought to organize women as women around women's issues. Their appeal to the vision of women as the moral guardians and housekeepers of society was remarkably successful in their first organized political campaign, which resulted in the ouster of a judge who symbolized their contention that the judicial system denigrated and failed to protect women. However, when the middle-class reformers carried the politics of purity into a campaign to close the dance halls of San Francisco's Barbary Coast, they aroused the opposition of the dance hall girls. These working-class women, who supported their families and owned their own homes, articulated a very different vision of womanhood, far more concerned with economic independence and moral autonomy than with the limited role of women as guardians of social purity. The conflict exposed the connection between class and the definition of femininity articulated in the cult of true womanhood.

Ellen DuBois explores an earlier version of the confrontation: Elizabeth Cady Stanton's conflict with women in the organized suffrage movement. Their reaction to Stanton's *Woman's Bible*, published in the 1890s, revealed two diametrically opposed views of the impact of Christianity on women and of the role of the state in creating the ideal society. Stanton was increasingly sensitive to the danger of relying on the state to enforce morality, religious principles, and a particular life-style. Women active in the social purity, Progressive, and suffrage movements based their strategies on securing state action to implement social reform. DuBois further suggests that Stanton envisioned an androgynous social order in which gender had ceased to function as a fundamental category of thought or organization and each adult functioned as an autonomous individual. Here Stanton departed radically from the mainstream of the nineteenth-

century woman's movement, which regarded gender as both a necessary and a desirable category for structuring society.

The debate between a religious and secular view of society also forms the core of Regina Morantz's study of two of America's first women doctors, Elizabeth Blackwell and Mary Putnam Jacobi. Though both played critical roles in changing the structure of the medical profession to accommodate female physicians, they argued from radically opposed views of the nature of women. Blackwell relied on her deep belief in women's moral purity and special capacities as mothers and nurturers, while Jacobi asserted their spiritual and intellectual equality with men. Jacobi accepted contemporary medical science and demanded that women be judged solely in terms of their ability to contribute to it, while Blackwell subordinated science to her religious and ethical definition of health and refused to accept medical discoveries that contradicted her holistic moral convictions about human nature.

Gullett, DuBois, and Morantz all show women successfully engaged in the process of creating new professional and political structures that gave them greater power and autonomy. At the same time, they show complex relations among women even when they were working toward the same goal. The process of building new structures produced dialogue and even conflict *between* women because of their different class positions and ideological outlooks. Although male-created social structures and hierarchies constrained and oppressed all women, these differences ensured that women would not respond to their situations in the same way. As the women's movement matured, therefore, it recognized and tried to benefit from the constant interplay between women's interests as women and their interests as members of particular classes or social strata. It is a problem that still confronts and challenges American feminism.

12. City Mothers, City Daughters, and the Dance Hall Girls: The Limits of Female Political Power in San Francisco, 1913

Gayle Gullett

California women won the vote in 1911. The first political objective of the victorious California women's movement was to abolish the "social evil." The term "social evil" referred to more than prostitution, more than the business of commercial vice; instead, the term referred to all illicit relations between the sexes. "What is the social evil?" asked the physician Mary Ritter in a California clubwoman's journal. She replied, "unchastity." The campaign against social evil was an attempt by women to create a moral social order that protected their interests. The height of the California campaign was in 1913 and its geographical center was San Francisco. In this one year the clubwomen of San Francisco successfully recalled the first judge of the city because the women were incensed at the manner in which he in particular, and the court system in general, dispensed justice at trials of rape and assault. Essentially the same coalition of clubwomen also collaborated with male Progressives in an attempt to close the largest segregated vice district in the state, the Barbary Coast.[1]

California women quite consciously used the campaign against social evil to develop women's political power and to vindicate women's cultural values. Activists within the California women's movement chose the campaign against social evil as their arena because they perceived society's sexual mores as a threat to their newly-gained citizenship. In particular, the campaign against social evil attacked the double standard, a sexual code of behavior that alleged illicit heterosexual activity was a less serious offense for the male partner of the act than it was for the female partner. The double standard was based on the belief that men have property in women, a property which falls in value whenever a woman has sexual relations with a man who is not her husband. The double standard denies that a woman's value is within herself; rather, a woman's exchange rate is determined by her relations to men.[2]

The California women's movement believed the double standard undermined their citizenship. The purpose of the campaign against social evil was to advance a single standard of sexual morality that judged both sexes equal and equally. Katherine Philips Edson, influential clubwoman, suffragist, and Progressive, was very active in the campaign against the social evil and concisely expressed its objective. She observed that some men opposed women's suffrage because they feared "that if women get power they will impose on men the same stan-

dards of sexual morality that men have imposed on women." Edson concluded, "That is just exactly what we are going to do."[3]

Edson described herself and the other clubwomen who supported the single standard as middle-aged, middle-class women who were going to become "one of the very important forces in politics." The clubwomen who supported the single standard believed that chastity, when required from both sexes, prevented women from becoming sexual property; therefore, clubwomen politically promoted the single standard in an effort to establish a social order supportive of all women. In the first campaign against social evil in San Francisco, the recall of Judge Weller, the clubwomen built a coalition of women that to some extent crossed class lines. This coalition proclaimed in one voice its belief in certain women's values.[4]

In the second campaign, closing the dance halls in the Barbary Coast, essentially the same alliance of clubwomen could not build a united women's coalition because their middle-class values were at sharp odds with those of the working-class dancers. Examining these two campaigns allows us to see the interaction of political power, gender, and class, and illuminates the priorities and motivating interests of these West Coast women as well as those of other women during the Progressive Era.

Of all the incidents associated with the California women's crusade against social evil, that which received more national attention than any other was the campaign to recall a San Francisco police court judge, Charles L. Weller. In the words of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston: "The biggest thing . . . in California since women obtained the suffrage is the recall of Judge Charles L. Weller." The campaign commanded attention for several reasons. The recall itself was a relatively new piece of progressive legislation in California and, in fact, Weller was the first judge to be recalled in San Francisco. Also, then as now, successfully recalling a judge is a particularly difficult political achievement. Finally, this recall was especially noteworthy because it was a women's campaign. The *California Outlook*, the state's Progressive journal, observed that it was women who initiated the recall movement, who raised the funds to support it, and who voted for it.[5]

The recall movement was sparked by a rather typical incident. Judge Weller reduced the bail of Albert Hendricks, who was charged with assaulting a young girl in the Oceanside district of San Francisco. Hendricks escaped bail and fled town before the trial. Unfortunately for the judge, however, the women of Oceanside had been angered for some time, both by the large number of girls and women who were being accosted in their district and by the failure of the San Francisco judicial system to punish the offenders. Hendricks, in fact, had been accused of a similar crime before, but the case had been dismissed. The women were especially incensed that he had been given a reduced bail on the second case, allowing him to escape, because this time there were witnesses who could testify against him. The Oceanside Women's Club called a mass protest meeting and from this meeting grew the 1913 recall movement.[6]

At the mass meeting the women formed the Women's Recall League, an umbrella organization that directed the campaign. Women could join as individuals or endorse the league through their organizations. The Oceanside Women's Club, which started the campaign, was an affluent suburban club, and the organizations that subsequently aided the Recall League were also middle-class. Although the Oceanside club had little political expertise, the first women's organizations to join the effort could offer support. These included such organizations as the Women's Political League, the Susan B. Anthony Club, and the California Club. The Anthony Club was the state's oldest suffrage club in existence when the franchise amendment passed in 1911. Most of the club's members were older women who had pioneered in the California suffrage movement. The California Club had an equally distinguished career. Suffragists organized that club in 1896 after the defeat of the state's first suffrage amendment in order to work indirectly for the vote. The club, whose membership included many of San Francisco's social elites, achieved a remarkable record of progressive political achievements, both in city affairs and state legislation. The San Francisco Center of the California Civic League (CCL) delayed its endorsement of the recall movement until it had polled its members, who voted 176 to 34 in favor of endorsement. Before the 1911 suffrage victory, the CCL was the College Equal Suffrage League, and it later became the League of Women Voters. The suffragists and civic activists who endorsed the recall were politically experienced, accustomed to working with one another, and skilled in building political coalitions. The recall movement quickly became their movement.[7]

The activities of the campaign were divided into three parts: the collection of petitions, coalition building, and the outreach effort. To recall a judge, the women needed to collect only seven thousand signatures; however, they gathered almost twice this number in a conscious effort to educate the public, particularly women, regarding the campaign. For women the education was extensive, for not only were they asked to sign the petition, a political act, but they were urged at the same time to register to vote. The clubwomen also sought to build a broad coalition of organizations to support the recall. Speakers from the Recall League were sent to a variety of women's organizations and, in return, the recall was endorsed by such groups as Mothers' Clubs, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Churches lent their support and "recall sermons" were given from various pulpits in the city. An effort was made to gain working-class support. Labor leaders were invited to speak at the mass meetings of the Recall League and speakers from the league were sent to working-class districts, where the press reported they were warmly received. Finally, the Recall League made a herculean effort to reach the public, holding three citywide mass meetings over a four-month period, each of which attracted, on the average, about a thousand people. The league also conducted four to five smaller meetings every week.[8]

At the end of the campaign, political forecasters did not expect the Women's Recall League to win. However, the women did win, although it was a close

election, with Weller recalled by a majority of only 815 votes. Furthermore, the women nominated and elected Weller's successor, attorney Wiley F. Crist. Crist pledged to use his office to suppress "this rapidly increasing menace to womanhood." "Social Evil To Be Weller Fight Issue" was a headline in the San Francisco *Examiner* when Crist announced his campaign. The league's victory came as a surprise, speculated the Fresno *Republican*, because the election "judgements were based on old standards, when women weren't considered." The victory of the recall movement was "of supreme significance" declared Mary Gibson, historian of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, because it "emphasize[d] the power of organization."[9]

An equally significant aspect of the recall campaign was that women had organized politically on a women's issue. Charles Weller continually expressed surprise that the recall was started at all, stating that he had "done nothing wrong" by reducing the bail bond of Albert Hendricks, a practice that Weller asserted was followed "for many years by every judge." The Women's Recall League argued that this was exactly what they were campaigning for, not for Weller's recall, but for reform of the court system. This system, charged an editorial in the San Francisco *Examiner*, "made possible the destruction of women with impunity." The Recall League, organized in response to one incident in Judge Weller's court, discovered that while his court provided the worst examples of injustice in cases regarding women's virtue, the entire judicial system was corrupt on this issue. A man who assaulted or raped a woman was seldom brought to trial, if tried, rarely convicted, and if convicted, rarely punished.[10]

To dramatize the need for reform, the Women's Recall League charged, first, that Charles Weller "repeatedly assigned absurdly small bail" to men charged with assault or rape, and, second, that if a case did come to court, Weller was most likely to dismiss it. Specifically, the women stated that while the average bail for crimes against property was placed by Weller at $2,500, the average bail assigned him in rape cases was $200, ranging from $50 to $500. The women also claimed that of the fifteen rape cases that came before Weller in two and one-half years, from 1909 to 1912, eleven were dismissed. Of the remaining four cases, three defendants forfeited bail and fled, and only one went before the superior court.[11]

The most sensational example of Weller's miscarriage of justice, as alleged by the Recall League, involved a fifteen-year-old Mexican girl, Berta Rocha, abandoned in San Francisco. Two Mexican men, who managed a restaurant, found her, raped her, and then gave her to a woman customer as a house servant. The woman, a "Mrs. S.," was astonished when she discovered the young girl was pregnant. She brought the case to the attention of the juvenile court, which became convinced that the evidence was sufficient to convict the men. The men were subsequently arrested, but in October 1910 the case came before Weller's court and they were assigned bail at $250. Then began what the Recall League referred to as "the public torture" of the child. She was forced to tell her tragic story to a court filled only with men. No women were allowed to be

present, including Mrs. S., who protested to Judge Weller in vain. His decision on the case was to postpone it, in fact, to postpone it several times. The girl, who was now "far advanced in pregnancy," had to repeat her testimony to the court again and again. She missed only one day of the demanding court schedule, the day she gave birth. On that day Weller dismissed the case for "lack of evidence." According to the league, the girl's life was "ruined": she became withdrawn, "timid and fearful." The Recall League ended their recounting of the episode with an appeal to the "mothers and fathers of San Francisco," warning them that "what happened to little Berta might happen to your daughter" if she is ever deprived of her parents' protection. At least one newspaper credited this story alone with winning the recall because "it aroused working men and women" to vote against Weller.[12]

The chief purpose of the recall campaign, however, was neither to recall a judge nor even to provide women with equal rights before the law. The principal objective of the campaign was to create a society in which women were not sexual property. In the words of the *Woman's Bulletin*, the official organ of the California Civic League, "the mistakes of women and girls are exploited and commercialized in our police courts"; so much so, that it is "beyond the power of the women to any longer stand idly by" and condone the action of the courts. The "root of evil" within these courts, according to the *Bulletin*, was that women were valued as less than property. To overcome this evil, the Women's Recall League, the "mothers of our city," uprooted the weeds of injustice and immorality that the city fathers had allowed to grow. In place of these weeds, continued the *Bulletin*, the mothers planted "courts of justice which do not belie their names and where a girl's virtue may be considered the foundation of good citizenship."[13]

The "city mothers" in the Recall League believed they were waging a campaign for all women, but it was not a campaign of equals. Instead, the most popular theme of the recall was that "city mothers," affluent, middle-aged clubwomen, were protecting the "daughters" of the city, young, unmarried women of all classes. Helen Campbell, vice-president of the Oceanside Women's Club and organizer of the first meetings that called for Weller's recall, said the movement was begun by the "earnest mothers of Oceanside" who "realize they must band together for the protection of their own daughters." We intend, promised Campbell, "to enlist the co-operation of every mother in San Francisco." In fact, advertisements for the first mass meetings of the campaign appealed to the "mothers of San Francisco." A statement of Isabel Mason, secretary of the Susan B. Anthony Club and active in the Recall League, expressed the unequal objectives of the campaign: "We want some woman-made laws so we can protect our girls." According to the rhetoric of the league, "daughters," unable to care for themselves, required the protection of city mothers. On the other hand, the recall did receive widespread support. Many agreed with the league that, at the very least, women ought to be protected from coercive sexuality and that men who engaged in such behavior ought to be punished.[14]

The recall campaign began in January of 1913 and ended in April with an election victory. In the second half of 1913, many San Francisco clubwomen turned their attention from reforming the court system to closing the largest segregated vice district in the state, the Barbary Coast. One of the basic industries of this waterfront district, established in the Gold Rush days, had been commercial prostitution. However, after the earthquake and fire of 1906, the dynamic new attraction that brought tourists by the thousands to the Barbary Coast was dancing. Many ragtime dances, which so scandalized the pre–World War I nation, originated in the dance halls of the Barbary Coast: the turkey trot, the bunny hug, the Texas Tommy. For the first time, upper-class tourists flocked to the coast, crowded themselves into the "slummers' balconies" of the dancing resorts, and gaped at what they believed to be a true glimpse of underworld decadence.[15]

Many Progressives, male and female, were appalled not only by the prostitution that continued in the Barbary Coast but also by the dance halls and even by the dances. The *California Outlook*, the state's progressive journal, described the dance halls as an "elaborate and poisonous system of commercialized vice," a system drawing "in a steady line of young girls at one door and sending out of stream of ruined lives at the other." The *Outlook* believed a young woman would succumb to the combination of drink, bright lights, and the "wild and primitive sensualism of ragtime." As one reformer stated at a meeting of the San Francisco Police Commission, the liquor, dancing, and undue familiarity created an atmosphere in the resorts of the Barbary Coast that "tended to create vice," and these places therefore "should be suppressed."[16]

San Francisco's civic leaders and reformers began seriously considering suppressing the Barbary Coast dancing after 1910. Businessmen started to believe that the coast hampered profits in other areas of the city. Moreover, beginning in 1911, the coast faced a new, progressive city administration, which viewed the coast with an attitude that ranged from "unfriendly" to "actively hostile." Tentative steps were taken in 1912 and early in 1913 to curtail activity in the coast, such as preventing women from participating in slumming parties; however, the coast retained enough political power to prevent these correctives from being enforced. In September 1913 the San Francisco *Examiner* began a crusade to close the coast, a crusade endorsed by "many churches, and practically every civic and social welfare organization of importance in San Francisco." Ten days later, the police commission issued a resolution that closed the coast.[17]

San Francisco's women's clubs, especially those that were previously involved in the recall campaign, played an active part in the crusade against the Barbary Coast. The San Francisco Center of the CCL was one of the key organizations that wrote and lobbied for the resolution that closed the coast. Other clubs active in the recall also lobbied the police commission, such as the Oceanside Women's Club and the Woman's Political League. After the San Francisco *Examiner* began its campaign against the coast, the remaining women's clubs in the city formed an unprecedented united front againt vice, despite their di-

verse reform interests. Finally, when the dancing was over in the coast, both the president of the San Francisco Police Commission, Theodore Roche, and the dance hall girls themselves credited the women's clubs with pushing the young women out of their jobs. A representative of the CCL, interviewing the dancers for the San Francisco Center of the league, had to emphasize that she was not a clubwoman to gain their confidence, for "they blamed the clubwomen for the closing of the coast and bitterly resented it."[18]

Closing the dance halls, or at the very least regulating them, was an issue of great concern to progressive women. Most social evil reformers believed that the dance hall, along with the brothel and the saloon, formed an unholy trinity, an indivisible source of corruption. Nevertheless, women reformers denounced dance halls for reasons of their own, the same reasons that led them to recall Judge Weller. The recall movement, according to Helen Todd, women's activist, "means the voice of the women speaking for the conservation of the young girls of the city." The campaign to close the Barbary Coast was also an effort to conserve young women. San Francisco clubwomen did not believe the dancers were necessarily prostitutes, and prostitution, in fact, was largely an after-hours, discretionary means of employment in the coast after 1906. But the clubwomen did believe, in the words of Mary Fairbrother, chair of the Aggregated Clubs of San Francisco, that many dance hall girls were "on their way to that horrible life and we," she concluded, "wish to help them to better things."[19]

Clubwomen also campaigned against the Barbary Coast because they perceived an attack upon it as an attack on the double standard. Mrs. Mark Neuman, past president of the Council of Jewish Women, believed the coast was "a plague spot in our city" and that cleaning this spot was the "first step" toward recognizing "that the double standard of morals which the world has tolerated is no longer recognized or necessary." A cartoon in the San Francisco *Examiner* illustrated why clubwomen saw the coast as a symbol for the double standard. The cartoon, a spoof of the new dancing resorts in the coast, portrayed two men in the Stone Age discussing a cabaret restaurant that featured a dance called the "Dinasaurus Trot." Inside the cabaret attractive young women draped themselves on the rocks and sat on the edges of the tables. "Let's go," exclaimed one man to the other. "I told my wife I had to attend a meeting of the geological society. Har! Har!" Thus, in denouncing the dance halls, clubwomen denounced an institution "which stood for social and sexual privileges" of men, the "privilege" to use women.[20]

Finally, clubwomen campaigned to close the coast in order to establish a moral social order, which the clubwomen believed would benefit women. Male Progressives held similar views; for example, Chester Rowell, an influential California Progressive, argued that unless the Barbary Coast were closed, San Francisco could not have "a proper standard of public morals." San Francisco Progressives, male and female, also believed that such a standard of morals would advance their city economically, not an inconsiderable matter to this group of middle-class, regional boosters. But most important, the reformers

perceived the social evil as a cancer in the body politic: disruptive, dangerous, and deadly to the moral order that justified middle-class respectability.[21]

The boosterism in the California crusade against the social evil is very evident in the appeal of the San Francisco *Examiner*, in the fall of 1913, to close the Barbary Coast. The appeal was made at a time when San Francisco was anxious about her future position as the trading center on the Pacific Coast. "Make San Francisco a clean city for clean people," pleaded the *Examiner*, because "more clean people means more clean business." The *Examiner* commented, not incidentally, that the movement to close red-light districts was now prominent nationally and that cities would not prosper that did not "ally themselves heart and soul with the new order and the better conscience of the age in which we live." Aside from the issue of conscience, the *Examiner* stated that commercial vice lessened the profits of legitimate business. The *Examiner* was aware, of course, that many prominent San Francisco businessmen reaped tremendous profits from commercial vice. But the purpose of the newspaper's campaign to close the Barbary Coast can be surmised by the paper's statement that those tourists and immigrants who were attracted by vice were not as desirable as the "right sort of people," who were repelled by San Francisco's segregated vice district. Franklin Hichborn, an active California Progressive, echoed these sentiments when he warned that "creatures of the underworld" from all over the nation would descend upon San Francisco during the 1915 Exposition unless the city abolished the vice found within its boundaries.[22]

The clubwomen, who supported the *Examiner's* campaign to close the Barbary Coast, based their support on the belief that social evil was unprofitable; pernicious, especially for women; and capable of destroying the entire social order. Mrs. F. W. Thompson, chair of the civics department of the Kalon Club, believed that a city that allowed the Barbary Coast was like "a shameless criminal, something to incite disgust." "It does not pay San Francisco to pride itself upon its filthiness and its foul places," warned Mrs. L. M. Culver, director of the San Francisco Center of the Civic League. "The word must go forth," she continued, "that this is a city of homes, a city fit for homes if San Francisco is to take its destined place among the cities of the world." Finally, Mrs. Austin Sperry, pioneer suffragist in California and president of the Susan B. Anthony Club, declared she favored a plan to "make San Francisco a clean city for clean people" because "better surroundings and clean living combine for better citizenship."[23]

Jane Addams, in a series of articles in *McClure's* that were published in 1912 as a book, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, best expressed the beliefs held by these reformers when she stated that prostitution meant not only a loss of resources but also a threat to "the welfare and the orderly existence of society itself." The progressive solution to this problem Addams called "social control." She defined social control as "that steadily increasing function of the state by which it seeks to protect its workers from their own weakness and degradation." By exercising social control, a society could produce a work force that would

not squander its physical health, nor lose its ability for self-control in the market place, nor its belief in the final reward for delayed gratification.[24]

An excellent example of women's efforts for social control is the attempt by San Francisco clubwomen to regulate the dances within the city. The clubwomen did not condemn dancing or all dance halls; rather, the clubwomen agreed that dance halls were "actually necessities of the young workers." Several women's organizations, such as the Outdoor Club of San Francisco, sponsored dances for working-class youths. The women agreed that these dances must be "decently conducted," with drinking prohibited and "proper protection" provided for young women. One club interpreted this as meaning that supervisors at the dance must formally introduce young couples so that no one danced with a stranger. Furthermore, the dancing had to be "wholesome and uplifting." Clubwomen were urged to "standardize dancing," that is, to exclude from their sponsored dances all of the new, popular ragtime dances performed in the Barbary Coast. Obviously, San Francisco clubwomen agreed with Jane Addams that workers needed protection "from their own weakness and degradation."[25]

When the clubwomen shut down the dance halls, they were confronted with the dilemma of the dance hall girls. The president of the police commission, Theodore Roche, stated that these dancing girls were "not women of the underworld in the accepted meaning of that term." They have parents and children to support, he continued, and now that they have lost their means of employment, they may "be driven into a life of ignominy and wretchedness." He said he personally believed "that the clubwomen and others who insisted on the wiping out of the dance halls" should now aid dancing girls in finding legitimate employment.[26]

Roche's personal feelings and the public announcement of them caused an uproar among some of the women's organizations of San Francisco. Those women closely associated with reforming the criminal justice system, such as Elizabeth Gerberding, of the Women's League of Justice, and Mary Bell, vice-president of the Juvenile Protection Association, were quite adamant that the clubwomen had no responsibility for those girls, who were, they said, the victims of progress. Many male reformers agreed. For example, Chester Rowell believed that "if we are going to worry about unemployment, the place to begin is the problem of the unemployment of the honest, the useful and the underpaid, rather than of vicious and overpaid predatory parasites" of the Barbary Coast. Both Gerberding and Bell believed actions should be taken on behalf of the dancers, but the clubwomen also agreed that the dancers, in Gerberding's words, were unlikely to "be made self-supporting and self reliant." The clubwomen recommended "custodial care" for the previously employed dancers, although Mindora Berry Goodwin, founder of the Rockhurst Center for Homeless Girls, believed the young dancers would reject institutional care, as they "would rather strike out independently to go as they pleased."[27]

But there were women's organizations that did respond to Commissioner Roche's challenge, organizations that believed they were responsible for the

dancers' plight and capable of solving it. The Aggregated Clubs of San Francisco, an organization composed of the civic clubs that campaigned for the recall, as well as such organizations as the Mothers' Congress and the Ladies Auxiliary Congregation Sherith Israel, held a benefit play for the dance hall girls. The women's club that provided the most extensive services, however, was the San Francisco Center of the Civic League. The center established an employment bureau, staffed it with social workers, and secured a listing of positions open to the dancing girls.[28]

The clubwomen who offered aid to the dance hall girls based their action on a set of shared assumptions. They agreed that it was necessary to close the dance halls in order to protect the city from moral corruption. They also believed that the dance hall girls themselves, whom they always referred to as "girls," a reference to both their age and class, were not the source of this corruption; rather, the girls were perceived by the clubwomen as victims of male manipulation and exploitation. The clubwomen intended to rescue the girls by offering them "respectable" employment. An implicit condition of the working women's rescue was that they reject their own values and accept the sexual mores of the middle-class clubwomen.[29]

The San Francisco Center representatives interviewed nearly two hundred dance hall girls but the great majority refused all offers of assistance. (The few who did accept aid were older, with dependents, and usually seriously ill.) The reasons most dance hall girls refused help are instructive and are best expressed in an unpublished letter sent to the San Francisco Center, addressed "To the clubwomen of San Francisco" from "A dance hall girl." The author asserted that the dance hall girls were not immoral; instead, they were attractive, well-educated young women who had an income greater than the average business man. Furthermore, they were using their income to support their families and purchase homes of their own. The author of the letter was certain that dancing women would accept other employment if it provided "a living wage," that is, an income that was sufficiently large to allow them to meet their family obligations and to continue their home ownership.[30]

Other dance hall girls rejected the offers of assistance because they valued the independence of their work. Their duties were to dance and drink with the customers and to appear as chorus girls in the vaudeville shows. They told the social workers sent to interview them that they enjoyed "not being under a boss." Thus, the dance hall girls valued their employment on the Barbary Coast because it offered them greater financial rewards and job satisfaction than they could find in other "women's" jobs. But the clubwomen did not understand this; instead, a woman social worker sent by the center to the dance halls responded to the girls by saying, "Poor deluded creatures, their mentality is so stunted with sensuality, drink and sin, they do not realize the awful bondage they are subject to." They were so deluded, the clubwomen thought, that they rejected the employment opportunities offered to them by the women's associations: in factories, in department stores, and in domestic service. What these opportuni-

ties offered were long hours, hard work, close supervision, and abysmally low pay. But restructuring the job market was not an issue for the clubwomen.[31]

The specific response of the San Francisco Center of the Civic League to the anonymous letter from a "dance hall girl" is unknown. However, the form letter sent by the league to the dancers began "My dear Miss" and was filled with offers of maternal aid: employment positions, homes for resting and planning one's future, and guidance counseling. The letter concluded, however, that offers of aid were for "girls who really feel tired and discouraged with their past life." The dancers could benefit from the maternalism of the clubs only if they relinquished their own values and independence.[32]

California clubwomen truly believed the campaign to close the Barbary Coast benefited women and society as much as the recall campaign. Both campaigns against social evil were predicated on a feminist desire to build a new social order in which women were not sexual property. In the recall campaign, women of different classes, "mothers" and "daughters," formed a united front that made a powerful political statement: women were citizens who would publicly shape community standards. But in the campaign to close the Barbary Coast, clubwomen were confronted with an ironical predicament: dance hall women rejected the clubwomen's values and chose a course of action that the clubwomen believed was detrimental to the dancers as individuals and to women as a group. This predicament, which confronts the women's movement of today, involved choosing whose values would be implemented to build a social order equally supportive of all women. The inability to resolve this conflict, fundamentally an issue of power, limited the political effectiveness of the women's movement and, most important, restricted the ability of the movement to create a new social structure based on women's values.

13. The Limitations of Sisterhood: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Division in the American Suffrage Movement, 1875–1902

Ellen DuBois

In the 1850s and 1860s, divisive political conflict characterized most efforts of American feminists, but by the mid-1870s and on through the end of the century, these conflicts had lessened. During the Gilded Age, politically active women made a strong commitment to consolidation. Ideologically, women emphasized their similarities rather than their differences; organizationally, they emphasized unity over division. Women of the period tended to create multi-issue, all-inclusive, and nonideological organizations that, at least theoretically, embraced all women and united them in a sisterhood dedicated to the elevation of their sex. The consolidation of women's reform efforts might be said to have begun with Frances Willard's assumption of the presidency of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1879 and to have reached maturity with the formation of the National Council of Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, both in the late 1880s.[1] By this time, suffragists participated enthusiastically in the move to unite women politically, consolidate them organizationally, and harmonize them ideologically. In 1890 the suffrage movement, which had divided in 1869, reunified into a single organization that foreswore all political distinctions among proponents of woman suffrage and welcomed all women, whatever their differences, to work for "the Cause."[2] Even Susan B. Anthony, who had always gloried in a good factional fight, embraced this strategy. She displayed an excessive reverence for harmony in fighting for the suffrage and avoided any issue that would split the unity she was intent on building around the demand for the vote.[3]

How real in fact was the harmony and consensus that seemed to predominate in late nineteenth-century feminism? Under the calm surface feminists presented to the world, there is evidence of a considerable amount of conflict, which their belief in the overriding importance of unity and dedication to the principle of sisterhood led them to obscure in the historical record. Here I wish to examine the ideas and experiences of the leading feminist dissident of the late nineteenth century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The quality of Stanton's thought is so extraordinary, so original and thought-provoking, that it is always profitable to examine her ideas closely. Moreover, in a situation in which she had to fight against a stifling ideological consensus to get a hearing, her insights and criticism were considerably sharpened. The issues that divided the late nineteenth-century

women's movement—religion, sex, and family, and the role of the state in women's liberation—are critical for an understanding of the development of feminism. We can gain a perspective on our own situation by considering how feminists differed over these matters and how the relation of these issues to women's liberation has changed over the last eighty years.

Central to the conflict between Stanton and other leaders of the late nineteenth-century feminist movement were differences over the role of religion, especially Christianity, in the oppression of women.[4] Stanton had been a militant anticleric since she was a teenager, when exposure to secular and rationalist ideas helped her to recover her emotional balance after an evangelical revival.[5] Politically, she was much more influenced by secular than by evangelical radicalism. Encouraged by Lucretia Mott, she read Frances Wright, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Tom Paine.[6] In the 1840s she knew of and was influenced by the two leading secular feminists in the United States, Robert Dale Owen and Ernestine Rose.[7] In the early phases of her career, she advocated reforms for women that these two had championed and that were generally associated with secular radicalism—the liberalization of divorce law and property rights for married women.[8] Even Stanton's role in developing the demand for the vote, and the emphasis she placed on politics, is most comprehensible when we recognize the militantly secular and anti-evangelical character of her approach to change, and her preference, throughout her career as a leader of American feminism, for political as opposed to moral reform.

In the 1860s and early 1870s, Stanton's interest in religion temporarily abated —perhaps because she concerned herself more with other reforms, perhaps because the clergy were less uniform in their opposition to women's rights, perhaps because women of orthodox religious belief were drawing closer to feminism. In 1878 Stanton's friend and political comrade, Isabella Beecher Hooker, held a prayer meeting in connection with the National Woman Suffrage Association convention and introduced pro-Christian resolutions at its proceedings. "I did not attend," Stanton wrote to Anthony, ". . . as Jehovah has never taken a very active part in the suffrage movement, I thought I would stay at home and get ready to implore the [Congressional] committee, having more faith in their power to render us the desired aid."[9]

In the early 1880s, however, she became convinced once again that religion held the key to women's oppression. What led to this reawakening of her interest in religion, and how did it differ from her pre–Civil War anticlericalism? Social developments in the United States, particularly the revival of crusading Protestantism, helped to alert her to the continuing hold religion had on women's consciousness. Postwar Christianity spoke less of hellfire than of divine love and, in part because of the growth of the women's rights movement itself, women were especially active in its spread. Indeed, one of the major avenues for the growth both of revivalism and feminism in the late nineteenth century was the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Stanton was also affected by political developments in England, where she

went in 1882 to be with her daughter and lived, on and off, for the next decade. In England Stanton was involved with and influenced by many political movements—Fabian socialism, the movement to repeal the Contagious Diseases Act, the suffrage movement, and above all, British secularism. The continued existence in England of an established church meant that the secularist demand for separation of church and state remained a powerful political issue. Non-Christians still could not sit in Parliament, and blasphemy, which included antigovernment remarks, remained a civil crime.[10] Stanton's diary in this period is filled with remarks about religion. Soon after she arrived in London, she gave a speech on the religious dimension of women's subordination to the progressive congregation of her old friend, Moncure Conway. "I never enjoyed speaking more than on that occasion," she wrote in her autobiography, "for I had been so long oppressed with the degradation of woman under canon law and church discipline, that I had a sense of relief in pouring out my indignation."[11]

Stanton was especially impressed with Annie Besant, one of the foremost leaders of British secularism. Besant was a feminist and a sexual radical as well as a militant secularist. In 1878 she was arrested, along with Charles Bradlaugh, for distribution of a pamphlet advocating birth control. While the more moderate wing of the secularist movement held to ideas about gender and sexuality that were too genteel for Stanton's taste, Besant combined militant secularism with sexual radicalism and the kind of uncompromising individualism that had always been so important to Stanton's feminism.[12] Stanton wrote of Besant, "I consider her the greatest woman in England."[13] As a result of Stanton's experiences in England, as well as the impact on her of the American Protestant revival, her approach to religion in the 1880s was closely linked to her ideas about sexuality and to new questions she began to form about social coercion and state interference with individual development and personal freedom.

Stanton contributed to late nineteenth-century secularism by examining the impact religion had on women. She believed that all organized religions degraded women and that women's religious sentiments had been used to keep them in bondage. However, she concentrated her fire on Christianity, and on refuting the assertion, made in its defense, that Christianity had elevated woman's status by purifying marriage, spreading social justice, and insisting on the spiritual equality of men and women.[14] On the basis of considerable historical scholarship, she demonstrated that the status of women in pre-Christian societies had been high, and conversely, that the impact of Christianity had been to debase and degrade the position of women. She also argued that historically the church had tolerated prostitution, polygamy, and other practices associated with the slavery of women. Christianity, she charged, excluded women from the priesthood and identified the deity solely with the male element. Finally, she argued that, with the Reformation, Christianity had abandoned what little respect it had retained for women, in particular the cult of the Virgin Mary and the existence of the religious sisterhoods. Given the confidence with which late nineteenth-century Protestants believed their faith represented the absolute

height of human civilization, we can imagine that they found Stanton's assertion that Catholicism treated women with more respect than Protestantism especially infuriating.

Stanton's criticisms of Christianity's spiritual claims were closely related to her challenge to its sexual morality. She suspected that part of the explanation for Christianity's hold over women was the fact that it denied the power of female sexuality, while at the same time drawing on it in the form of religious passion. To her daughter she suggested that "the love of Jesus, among women in general, all grows out of sexual attraction."[15] Stanton was particularly critical of the doctrine of original sin, which identified sex with evil and both with the carnal nature of women.[16] This fear of female sexuality permeated Pauline doctrine, which treated marriage primarily as an institution to permit men to satisfy their sexual cravings without having to resort to sin.[17] Stanton dissented from the idea, at the center of late nineteenth-century Christian morality, that the "civilized" approach to human sexuality was the establishment of a single, absolute standard of sexual behavior, a morality to which all individuals should be held. Stanton had always been suspicious of official standards of sexual conduct, but the debates of the 1880s and 1890s clarified her position and made her profoundly skeptical of the idea that a universal standard of sexual morality could be ascertained. Of one thing she was sure: sexual purity did not prevail under nineteenth-century Christianity. "There never has been any true standard of social morality and none exists today," she insisted. "The true relation of the sexes is still an unsolved problem that has differed in all latitudes and in all periods from the savage to the civilized man. What constitutes chastity changes with time and latitude; its definition would be as varied as is public opinion on other subjects."[18]

On the basis of her interest in Christianity and its role in the oppression of women, Stanton began as early as 1886 to plan an ambitious feminist analysis of the Bible. She wanted to avoid treating the book as a "fetish," but to assess what it had to say about women's position "as one would any book of human origin."[19] General developments in Biblical criticism, the publication in 1881 of a new revised version of the Bible, and the growing tendency of Biblical scholars to treat the Bible historically rather than metaphysically no doubt inspired her. Stanton's own opinion was that the Bible taught "the subjection and degradation of women."[20] She realized, however, that other feminists interpreted its teachings more positively, and she genuinely sought to stir debate on the nature of the Bible's ethical teachings about women.[21] Years before she had read Voltaire's *Commentary* on the Bible, which was organized in the form of selected Biblical passages at the head of the page, followed by Voltaire's own "arch skeptical" analyses.[22] Stanton adopted this form, but proposed that the commentaries be written by several women of different opinions. The editors would then "add a few sentences, making some criticisms of our inconsistencies." "Our differences would make our readers think," Stanton wrote enthusiastically, "and teach them to respect the right of individual opinion."[23]

Stanton was genuinely surprised when most of the feminists to whom she wrote refused to join the *Woman's Bible* project. She had invited women with a wide range of opinions, including those "belonging to orthodox churches," and at first some of them showed interest in the idea.[24] Ultimately, almost all refused to participate. The reasons they gave varied. Harriot Hanson Robinson and her daughter Harriet Shattuck, close political allies of Stanton for several years, claimed that they did not see why the project was important and doubted their ability to make any contribution of significance.[25] Frances Willard and her friend Lady Henry Somerset withdrew their support because the project did not include enough "women of conservative opinion" and therefore could not "find acceptance with the women for whom we work."[26] Even Anthony refused to cooperate on the grounds that a battle over religion would divert attention from the fight for suffrage. "I don't want my name on that Bible Committee," she wrote Stanton. "I get my share of criticism. . . . Read and burn this letter."[27] Mary Livermore, who shared Stanton's goal of bringing the masses of women to more liberal religious ideas, also feared that any effort to which "the mad dog cry of atheist, infidel, and reviler of holy things" could be attached would do more harm than good.[28] In part, what was at work here were different ideas about how to build and develop a social movement. Livermore thought that leaders should move their followers' ideas gradually, carefully, by persuasion and reassurance, always seeking to preserve ideological consensus. Stanton believed in the value of debate and conflict, in sharpening differences rather than muting them.

This leaves us with the question of why religion should be the source of such deep differences among late nineteenth-century feminists. What did Christianity signify, especially for those who revered the Bible and found Stanton's ideas objectionable? In the context of late nineteenth-century capitalism, surrounded by intensely competitive individualism, many reformers were drawn to Christian values as an alternative to the ideology of laissez-faire. Christianity represented to them a set of beliefs about loving and selfless conduct toward others that, if universally followed, would eliminate tyranny and injustice. "Wherever we find an institution for the care and comfort of the dependent and defective classes," Frances Willard explained, "there the spirit of Christianity is at work."[29] Even to feminists, women were among the dependent classes, placed there by their maternity and the economic relation it put them in with respect to men. "That woman is handicapped by peculiarities of physical structure seems evident," wrote Ednah Dow Cheney, another feminist who objected to the *Woman's Bible*; "but it is only by making her limitations her powers"—her motherhood her glory—"that the balance can be restored."[30] Thus, the most important Christian institution for the care of dependent classes was the family, and women were at its center—dedicated to the care of dependent children, while themselves relying on the protection and goodwill of men. Women's inescapable dependence is what made Christian morality so important to feminists: a common belief in Christian ethics was the only thing that would insure that men

treated women with respect and that the family functioned to protect women and children rather than permit their abuse. "The gospel of Christ has mellowed the hearts of men until they become willing to do women justice," wrote Frances Willard, the most impassioned preacher of feminist Christianity. "To me the Bible is the dear and sacred home book which makes a hallowed motherhood possible because it raises woman up."[31]

While Stanton agreed with some of the elements of this argument—for instance, the practice of appealing to women's position as mother of the race—at the most basic level she disagreed with this approach to women's emancipation. She believed that the task of the women's movement was not to assume women's vulnerability and to protect them from its consequences, but to so transform women and the condition in which they lived that they would no longer need protection, but would be fully independent. Even while recognizing that the structures of inequality were very strong, she held to the classical feminist goal of equality and continued to emphasize the necessity of achieving it with respect to the sexes. Her most powerful assertion of these ideas can be found in "The Solitude of Self," her 1892 meditation on the relative importance to women's liberation of protection versus freedom, differences between the sexes versus similarities, and community morality and Christian ethics versus individual autonomy and self-determination. Christianity's message was "to bear ye one another's burdens," and Stanton granted that humanity would be better off if we did, but the point of her speech was "how few the burdens that one soul can bear for another." "No matter how much women prefer to lean, to be protected and supported, nor how much men desire them to do so," she explained, "they must make the voyage of life alone, and for safety's sake . . . should know something of the laws of navigation." Stanton believed that the idea of safe dependence was an illusion for women for several reasons: because no matter how secure one's home life, how kindly the husband, emergencies arose and women had to be prepared to care for themselves; because each life was different, each woman had her "individual necessities" with which no one else could grapple but herself; above all, because the philosophical truth of human existence was the same for women as for men, "that in the tragedies and triumphs of human experience, each mortal stands alone." "The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery," Stanton argued, "for they beat on her just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself." Faced with these truths, the only security for women, as for men, was in full self-development. As a positive vision of women's liberation, Stanton stressed women's emancipation into the "infinite diversity in human character," the human condition that simultaneously distinguishes each of us from the other, and is common to all of us, men and women alike.[32]

These philosophical differences became political differences, and debates over religion became debates over government, as Christian reformers worked to introduce religious values into law and religious feminists sought to marshal the power of the government behind their idea of the family. By the end of the

century, the idea that government should enforce Christian morality was becoming popular with reformers, as were proposals for Bible education in the public schools, legal enforcement of Sunday closings, a wide variety of sexual morals legislation, and—most hauntingly—a Constitutional amendment recognizing the Christian basis of the American political system.[33] The 1888 platform of the Prohibition party, for instance, called for Sunday closing laws and restrictive divorce legislation, as well as for antimonopoly and prolabor measures. Feminists played an important role in this Christian political movement. Their special concern was sexual morality legislation: social purity laws to raise the age of consent, strengthen the bonds of marriage, limit the number of divorces, censor obscene literature, and eliminate prostitution. Feminists involved in social purity politics included Mary Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Anna Garlin Spencer, Frances Harper, and all of the Blackwells.[34] The WCTU was especially active in social purity politics. Under the leadership of Frances Willard, it allied with Anthony Comstock, formed its own department for repressing impure literature, endorsed a Constitutional amendment recognizing Christianity, and formed a department of "Christian citizenship."[35]

Although Christian morality and social purity ideology dominated the late nineteenth-century feminist movement, these ideas did not go unchallenged. A minority of feminists—Matilda Gage, Josephine Henry, Clara Colby, and Olympia Brown, to name a few—tried to halt the interpenetration of feminism and Christian reform in the 1890s.[36] Stanton provided secular feminists with leadership. Despite Anthony's urgings to keep conflict out of the women's movement, Stanton insisted on raising the level of debate and bringing feminists' differences into the open. At the 1890 suffrage unity convention, where pressure to present a united face to the world was great, Stanton's keynote speech challenged feminists' efforts to introduce Christian morality into civil law. "As women are taking an active part in pressing on the consideration of Congress many narrow sectarian measures," she declared, ". . . I hope this convention will declare that the Woman Suffrage Association is opposed to all Union of Church and State and pledges itself . . . to maintain the secular nature of our government."[37] She was particularly incensed over efforts to suppress all nonreligious activities on Sunday, especially the upcoming Chicago World's Fair.[38] She also opposed Christian reformers' attempts to make divorce laws more conservative and divorces harder to get.[39] She criticized both measures on the grounds that they were destructive of individual liberty, especially for women. She particularly objected to the suppression of individual choice when it came to divorce, because women as yet enjoyed so little self-determination in matters of marriage and sexuality. In contrast to her social purity opponents, she argued that liberal divorce laws were in women's interests, that more and more women were initiating divorce, and that the obligation of the women's movement was to encourage this development, not to repress it. "The rapidly increasing number of divorces, far from showing a lower state of morals, proves exactly the reverse," she contended. "Woman is in a transition period from slavery to freedom, and she

will not accept the conditions in married life that she has heretofore meekly endured."[40]

Underlying Stanton's objections to the coercive character of social purity legislation was a growing concern over the uses of state power in general. Most late nineteenth-century reformers, including most feminists, relied on a unifed community faith, backed by the power of the government, for the creation of a just social order. One has only to think of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, with its vision of a state-run utopia, where national government organized all aspects of social life and met—one might say anticipated—all one's personal needs.[41] While many reformers embraced this vision, there were those who saw problems with it. "The spring of the [Bellamy nationalist] movement is the very best cooperation in the place of the deadly competition of our so-called Christian civilization," William F. Channing wrote Stanton, "But the spring is made to drive the wheels of a state socialism more arbitrary than the government of the czar or the Emperor William."[42] Stanton was of the same opinion. "All this special legislation about faith, Sabbath, drinking, etc. is the entering wedge of a general government interference," she wrote in 1888, "which would eventually subject us to espionage, which would become tyrannical in the extreme."[43] Stanton's concerns about the impact of Christian ideology on American reform politics are worth considering. The explicitly religious dimension of this approach to reform soon faded, but its coercive and paternalistic aspects remained and formed the basis of the most disturbing, undemocratic elements of twentieth-century progressivism.[44]

Stanton's ideas about religion and sex were not very popular in the late nineteenth-century women's movement. In 1890 she was narrowly elected president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), and two years later she resigned, frustrated at the opposition she consistently encountered.[45] In 1895 she finally published the *Woman's Bible*, which only heightened the opposition to her leadership. At the 1896 suffrage convention, Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of NAWSA and one of Anthony's protégées, criticized the *Woman's Bible* as "a volume with a pretentious title . . . without either scholarship or literary merit, set forth in a spirit which is neither that of reverence or inquiry."[46] Avery recommended that the suffrage association "take some action to show that it was not responsible for the individual actions of its officers"—Stanton was no longer an officer—and moved that NAWSA disavow any connection with the *Woman's Bible*. There was considerable debate: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, at her first suffrage convention, defended Stanton eloquently, but the resolution of censure passed, 53 to 41. The censorship left Stanton bitter. "Much as I desire the suffrage," she wrote in 1896, "I would rather never vote than to see the policy of our government at the mercy of the religious bigotry of such women. My heart's desire is to lift women out of all these dangerous and degrading superstitions and to this end will I labor my remaining days on earth."[47] The low regard in which suffrage leaders held Stanton at the end of her life was carried after her death in 1902 into the

historical record of the movement, through organizational histories and autobiographies, so that her historical contribution and her conception of the emancipation of women continued to be undervalued in the feminist tradition. There was not even a full-length biography of Stanton until 1940, in contrast to several written about Anthony within years of her death.

As a modern feminist, I find myself a good deal closer to Stanton's ideas about women's liberation, her focus on independence and egalitarianism, her emphasis on freedom rather than protection, than I feel to her social purity opponents. When I read "Solitude of Self" and ask myself what I think of it, I truly believe that Stanton's description of the dangerous, unpredictable, necessarily "solitary" nature of life describes what it means for women to leave the sheltered world of home and sexually stereotyped social role, each individual to find a way of life and a sense of self appropriate to her. It is interesting that the arguments of Stanton's feminist opponents—that religious values, a strengthened family, and a more uniform social morality offer women the best protection—are no longer put forward primarily by feminists. Although we can hear echoes of such ideals in some aspects of cultural feminism, Christian reform arguments are now primarily the province of the antifeminist movement—the moral majority, the right-to-lifers, Phyllis Schlafly, and STOP-ERA. What are we to make of this curious development? On the one hand, the similarities between feminist arguments of the past and antifeminist arguments of the present should give feminists pause and make us think more carefully about just how precisely feminists represent all women's aspirations. Profamily politicians, for all their conservatism, are addressing aspects of women's discontent and offering visions of family and social reform that are attractive, at least to some women.[48] There is no one solution to women's oppression; there may not even be one "women's oppression," and the history of women's efforts to reform their social position, to give voice to their discontent, is as complex a phenomenon as American reform in general, and as contradictory in its development.

At the same time the appropriation of protectionist arguments by modern antifeminists is also a reason for optimism, a development on which feminists can pin historical faith. Nineteenth-century Christian feminists focused on women's weaknesses and vulnerability, and on the creation of safe environments and external power to protect them from exploitation and abuse. Given the position of the masses of women in the nineteenth century—economically dependent, unable to support themselves or their children, absolutely deprived of personal freedom, either sexual or reproductive—even the feminist movement could aspire to little more than this defensive and protectionist program on women's behalf. This no longer need be the case. Women's lives are no longer so completely circumscribed, at least no longer circumscribed in precisely the same ways. Modern feminist programs are much less protectionist as a result, women's goals much more libertarian and egalitarian. Once we understand that as the conditions of women's lives change, so do their visions of freedom, our approach to the history of feminism changes. We must study feminism's byways as well as

its mainstreams, its dissidents as well as its representative voices; we must understand that our heritage is complex, so that we uncover the whole range of precedents on which we can draw.

14. Feminism, Professionalism, and Germs: A Study of the Thought of Mary Putnam Jacobi and Elizabeth Blackwell

Regina Markell Morantz

On Christmas Day 1888, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi sat at her desk to write a long, frank, and remarkably revealing letter to Elizabeth Blackwell. Although Blackwell was several years her senior, both women belonged to the pioneer generation of women physicians. Blackwell, the first woman to receive a medical degree in the United States, had founded both a hospital and a medical school for women—the New York Infirmary for Women and Children—where Jacobi since 1870 had been an attending physician and professor of materia medica and therapeutics. Yet the two women never knew each other well. In 1869, shortly after she established the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, Blackwell left America and took up permanent residence in England, where she believed she could accomplish more in behalf of women physicians. She consigned the school to the competent administration of her sister Emily, also a physician, and an able faculty, which included Jacobi, a handful of recent graduates, and a few young, sympathetic male physicians.

Both women had fine reputations and were recognized leaders among the rapidly expanding ranks of women physicians. But though they admired each other deeply, it is also clear that their cordiality and mutual respect was enhanced rather than hampered by the geographical distance between them. For no two temperaments differed more profoundly. Jacobi had not a trace of sentimentality about her. Her quick and penetrating intellect cut to the core of things with a rapidity that left lesser minds bewildered. No one valued rational thinking more highly; no one remained more frustrated with vague generalities that could not be grounded in empirical investigation and factual analysis. Jacobi chose medicine out of the love of scientific rationalism. She adored chemistry and pursued medical study with the joyous abandon of a mind comfortably at home with its rigors. While attending the École de Médicine in Paris she once sheepishly confessed to her mother that "immersion in technical studies is like arsenic eating,—once begun, you must go on, and at a continually increasing dose. I am really astonished to find how this absorption grows upon me."[1]

Blackwell, in contrast, was nothing if not sentimental. She entered medicine with a perfectionist conception of morality and her own role in the moral universe. Believing that the realm of medicine and health must be a fundamental area of concern for the reformer, she wrote in 1889, "The progress and welfare

of society is more intimately bound up with the prevailing tone and influence of the medical profession than with the status of any other class of men."[2] Indeed, Victor Robinson, a younger physician who knew and admired her, called her a "Swedenborgian-theosophical-theological-Christian-metaphysician, instead of just an unadulterated scientist."[3]

To the amused Robinson such failings could be tolerated in great pioneers. But as Jacobi formulated her thoughts on that Christmas morning in 1889, she realized that Blackwell's thinking raised her "antagonistic hairs" particularly because the woman was a pioneer. Sentimentality hurt the cause. Blackwell's preoccupation with the abstract struggle to make a place for women in medicine, Jacobi complained, never allowed her to descend from her vision "into the sphere of practical life within which, that vision if anywhere must be realized. You left that for others to do." What rankled Jacobi most was Blackwell's dominant "mental habit,—principle,—or method, . . . the well known Transcendental method of arriving at conclusions by the force of meditative insight, and then refusing to submit these to tests of verification. Indeed," Jacobi continued upon further reflection, "it is the latter omission I really object to: the Transcendental vision probably always comes first in all large generalizations. . . . But whether these are to stand as effective truths or not depends upon how far they can bear the tests of close conflicts with facts, with innumerable details: how they can sustain the onslaught of argument and criticism. Your sex, your age, and your cast of mind render all this difficult. . . . You resemble your sister Anna sufficiently to prefer to remain within the sphere of large, often half mystical assertion."

What mystified and frustrated Jacobi was Blackwell's inattention to clinical medicine. "You have always disliked, ignored and neglected medicine!" she wrote, and the "one real occasion where from your position you should have shown me much, yet failed to show me anything, was when I began to study medicine under your direction in New York." Jacobi could sympathize with the "immense" obstacles in the way of Blackwell's reading and being taught medicine at midcentury, but she confessed she had always suspected that her friend's "greatest real difficulty" was her "own intense indifference to the work."[4]

The differences between the two women were partly temperamental. But in the last third of the nineteenth century they also reflected tensions within the medical profession created by the new discoveries in immunology and bacteriology. In the decade or so between the time that Blackwell received her medical degree in 1849 and Jacobi entered the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1864, medicine as an occupation began to merge with medicine as a science. Certainly Jacobi's exposure to the new ideas as a student rather than as a young practitioner may account for the younger woman's greater openness to change. But the debate over the role of the physician in specific areas of reform—a debate intensified by findings in the laboratory—was never wholly generational, nor was it ever confined solely to the female portion of the profession.

Yet Jacobi and Blackwell disagreed not only over bacteriology; they also

represented variant traditions among women physicians, and their divergences led them on occasion to view the role of the woman physician from slightly different perspectives as well. For both these reasons their lives will be explored in this chapter. Women physicians, by nature of their being physicians, ranged themselves on different sides of the controversies shared by their medical brethren. Yet by virtue of their being women, they also faced dilemmas from which their male colleagues were spared. Most of these centered around the fact of their womanhood and the meaning of this with regard to their larger connection with the profession.

One of the most bewildering controversies to twentieth-century observers remains the reluctance of many nineteenth-century physicians and public health advocates to accept the discoveries of the bacteriologists. How could such men and women persist in speaking of "effluvia," "miasma," and "filth" when the precise experimentation of Pasteur, Koch, and their followers had, by reproducing various diseases in the laboratory and identifying various germs, ushered in the concept of specific etiology?

To make sense of the sanitarians' objections we must remember that bacteriological concepts called into question an older and deeply internalized view of disease that was holistic in its scope, moralistic in its implications, and fundamentally religious in its point of departure. In the minds of many sanitarians, Elizabeth Blackwell included, health was the natural order of things, a gift to be enjoyed by people if they governed their lives wisely and well. Disease was neither the arbitrary visitation of an angry God nor the quixotic outcome of blind fate; it was the inevitable result of one's violation of the laws of nature made manifest by a benevolent diety. Disease, so often equated in their cosmology with sin, was permitted by God to exist, but conscience and revelation on the one hand, and reason and science on the other, were the tools provided by him for man to combat these evils. The task of medicine was to reveal and teach the laws by which people could ensure the proper balance between environment and individual behavior.

From our perspective, nineteenth-century sanitarians may have been scientifically naive, but their ideas exhibited an internal consistency that linked together a perfectionist world view with the more personal concerns of men and women interested in active and dramatic social reform. They reasoned that since disease was always accompanied by ugliness, want, and pollution, health could be achieved by replacing these modern blights with the pure food, air, water, and pleasant surroundings enjoyed in the preindustrial age.[5]

To be sure, the tension between environmentalism and the concept of specific etiology that agitated the medical community at the end of the nineteenth century both in America and abroad generally represented different points of view on a continuum rather than a conflict between two opposing camps. As early as the 1840s and 1850s individual physicians spoke of "germs" and used the term to identify a cause of disease that defied mere cleanliness and purity and suggested

further that conscience and clean living were not always enough.[6] Enlightened American physicians, like Lemuel Shattuck or Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, for example, carefully balanced traditional sanitation theory, with its emphasis on filth, against new concepts pointing to a specific microbial invader. Nevertheless, the social implications of the two poles of thought can be usefully contrasted. Blackwell, perhaps because her scientific opinions exhibited none of the subtlety of contemporaries like Shattuck, Bowditch, or Mary Putnam Jacobi, stands as an appropriate representative of an older, more conservative tradition, still unmoved by the startling new discoveries of laboratory experimentation.

One clue to Blackwell's thinking lies in the fact that her interest in moral reform antedated her attraction to medicine and can be traced to her remarkable family background. The children of the abolitionist Samuel Blackwell immersed themselves in the traditions of Christian perfectionism and reformist activity. Elizabeth's brothers, Henry and Samuel, supported antislavery and women's rights: the former married the feminist Lucy Stone and the latter married Antoinette Brown, the first formally ordained woman minister in the United States. Sister Emily also became a physician, and another, Anna, a poet and translator. Several family members dabbled in spiritualism. Blackwell's approach to medical issues confidently bore the stamp of her family's progressive tendencies.

The idea of studying medicine did not come easily to Blackwell, for she admitted in her autobiography that as a young adult she "hated everything connected with the body" and "the very thought of dwelling on . . . its various physical ailments filled me with disgust." Yet other circumstances pushed her toward her life's work. One was her burning desire for engrossing, ennobling activity. When a close friend dying of what was probably uterine cancer urged upon Blackwell the thought that her worst sufferings would have been alleviated had she been treated by a woman physician, Elizabeth could no longer "put the idea . . . away." She knew even then that the term "female physician" referred primarily at that time to abortionists, the most notorious of whom was New York's Madame Restell. Such misuse of female power directly offended her growing mystical fascination with what she later termed "the spiritual power of maternity." The Madame Restells of the world represented "the gross perversion and destruction" of womanhood and "utter degradation of what might and should become a noble position for women." With determination she concluded to do what she could to "'redeem the hells' . . . especially the one form of hell thus forced upon my notice."[7]

Blackwell seems to have consciously chosen a life that would protect her from marriage and intimacy with men. Her autobiography reveals that her choice of career came in part from her susceptibility to the "disturbing influence exercised by the other sex." Although she was constantly "falling in love" she shrank from the implications of those feelings, "repelled" by the idea of intimacy and a "life association." Soon after seizing upon the idea of medical practice, she confided to her journal: "I felt more determined than ever to become a

physician, and thus place a strong barrier between me and all ordinary marriage. I must have something to engross my thoughts, some object in life which will fill this vacuum and prevent this sad wearing away of the heart."[8]

Blackwell often used a traditionally religious vocabulary to articulate her goals. She turned for aid "to that Friend with whom I am beginning to hold true communion," and shortly after she began preparing for her future course, her fears and doubts were dispelled by a mystical experience that left her confident that her individual work was divinely inspired and "in accordance with the great providential ordering of our race's progress."[9] This conversion of religious impulses into paths of professional activity was characteristic of many sanitarians during the antebellum period, both in America and in England.[10]

Similar themes pervaded Blackwell's writings as she formulated her two major concerns, the role of the physician in society and the place of women in the profession. Because her approach to disease was holistic, she argued that the physician had more to do than cure. She constantly spoke of the union of the spiritual and the physical, warning her students frequently against the dangers of materialism. "True science," she wrote, "supports the noblest intuitions of humanity, and its tendency is to furnish proof suited to our age of these intuitions." When "the recognition of the higher facts of consciousness is obscured, and the physician is unable to perceive life more real than the narrow limits of sensation," she warned, the loss to practical medicine was "immense."[11]

The bacteriologists obscured "the higher facts of consciousness" because bacteriology appeared to develop at the expense of sanitation, hygiene, preventive medicine, and most important, morality itself. By equating disease with a specific microbial invader, laboratory scientists seemed to be challenging the older view of health as equilibrium and threatening the work of those reformers who supported massive sanitary measures to remove the filth, want, and pollution that they believed caused disease. The traditional art of medicine, whose monistic pathologies bid the physician treat only after a careful balance of emotional, environmental, and physiopsychological factors, was rendered obsolete. Not laboratory experimentation, dissented Blackwell, but "pure air, cleanliness, and decent house-room secured to all . . . form the true prophylaxis of small-pox."[12] "The arbitrary distinction," she continued elsewhere, "between the physician of the body and the physician of the soul . . . tends to disappear as science advances."[13]

Blackwell continued to explore these themes when she turned her attention to the role of women in the profession. In 1889 she wrote that the sense of right and wrong must constantly govern medical research and practice, "the Moral must guide the Intellectual, or there is no halting-place in the rapid incline to error." Because she believed that women innately exhibited a higher moral sense than did men, she saw the role of medical women as integral to the proper and healthy progress of the profession as a whole. Indeed, a "distinguishing characteristic" of the nineteenth century, she argued, was the "increasing devotion of women to the relief of social suffering" through the "spiritual power of maternity." By this

she meant "the subordination of self to the welfare of others; the recognition of the claim which helplessness and ignorance make upon the stronger and more intelligent; the joy of creation and bestowal of life; the pity and sympathy which tend to make every woman the born foe of cruelty and injustice." Women were accomplishing great deeds. Such "spiritual mothers of the race" she judged "often more truly incarnations of the grand maternal life, than those who are technically mothers in the lower physical sense."

Women physicians, she argued, must monitor medical progress so that it did not violate moral truth. "Whatever revolts our moral sense as earnest women," she reminded her students, "is not in accordance with steady progress . . ." and "cannot be permanently true." It was through the "moral, guiding the intellectual," that the "beneficial influence of women in any new sphere of activity" would be felt.

Bacteriology and its penchant for vaccination offended Blackwell because its concept of specific etiology undermined her sense of the moral order. A concomitant of modern laboratory science, animal experimentation, represented something much worse: the triumph of the intellect over morality. Blackwell probably opposed vaccination primarily because early in her practice she lost a young child whom she had vaccinated against small pox. Vivisection, however, represented to her an attempt to do good by evil means. Animal experimentation, she felt, hardened the heart, blunted the moral sense, and injured the "intelligent sympathy with suffering" that was the mark of a good physician. Ultimately it led to the dangerous habit of treating the poor and helpless with indifference by regarding them merely as "clinical material."[14] Blackwell regretted this tendency particularly among younger physicians, and she felt it the responsibility of women doctors to discourage such inhumane practices. In 1891 she addressed a letter of protest to the Alumnae Association of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary in which she opposed their endowment of a new experimental laboratory. She reminded her female colleagues of their duty as potential mothers to oppose the cruelty and narrow materialism of which, to her mind, the new laboratory was symbolic.

Blackwell even connected the corruption of the moral sense resulting from "unrestrained experiment on the lower animals" to the increase in gynecological surgery at the end of the century. To her ovariotomy represented mutiliation and was especially heinous because it rendered women incapable of having children. Again she looked to women physicians to remind the profession that "moral error may engender intellectual error" and talked often of returning to the United States to rally women's attention on these issues.[15]

Fascinated and energized by recent events in laboratory medicine, Mary Putnam Jacobi could muster little enthusiasm for Blackwell's views. In her private life she too confronted the moral dilemmas of the reformer, and she enthusiastically supported numerous meliorist efforts, including the Consumers' League, woman's suffrage, and the reform of primary education in the direction of manual training and physical culture. But though she understood that the

pursuit of truth could never be divorced totally from moral life, she approached the acquisition of medical knowledge as something quite independent of morality. Believing in science with an earnestness that was almost religious, she nevertheless remained uncomfortable with Blackwell's traditional religious vocabulary, and she viewed scientific research as an absolute good because it added to the fund of human knowledge.

As a young medical student Jacobi had written her mother that her vision of Heaven was "simply the Region of Pure Thought" emancipated from "the overwhelming dominion of personal emotion and instinct." Her desire to pursue a scientific career developed early and she hesitated only when deciding whether to concentrate on medical practice or laboratory research. The oldest daughter of the publisher George Palmer Putnam, Jacobi, like Blackwell, received considerable support from her family. Although the Putnams were not active reformers, they were nevertheless New Englanders who remained sympathetic to the meliorist causes of the day. Jacobi's aunt, Elizabeth Peabody, for example, kept her in touch with every new social "ism." Yet Jacobi remained too hard-headed and practical to identify herself with trends and fads. She once wrote to her mother, "I detest vulgarity, pretention, . . . inanity, twaddle, insipidity and pretention in velvet. I will have none of either. No homeopaths, no spiritualists, few 'female' orators. . . ."[16]

The Putnams were not pleased with their daughter's choice of career, but their disappointment did not hinder their providing emotional and material support. Jacobi's father considered medical science to be a "repulsive pursuit" but nevertheless took great pride in his daughter's success. He begged only that she shun the company of "strong-minded women," telling her, "Your self-will and independence . . . are strong enough already." To preserve her "feminine character," he asked her to "be a lady from the dotting of [her] i's to the color of [her] ribbons." In 1863, soon after she began her studies at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, he pleaded: "If you must be a doctor and a philosopher, be an attractive and agreeable one."[17]

Jacobi appreciated and respected her parents' advice because she understood the significance of their liberalism with regard to her aspirations. "You have always been such a dear good father," she once wrote to George Putnam. "The more I see of other people's way of doing, the more highly I value the large liberty in which you have always left me. It has occasioned certain mistakes, but on the whole, the advantage has infinitely outweighed the disadvantage. I do not see how I could have lived without it."[18]

Their tolerance of her plans was indeed remarkable for Victorian parents. Jacobi was headstrong, and she spent long years stubbornly pursuing her goals —years that the oldest girl of an upper-middle-class New York family might have passed making more of a contribution to home life as daughter, sister, and eventually, wife. After receiving a degree in 1863 from the New York College of Pharmacy, Jacobi attended the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia and was graduated a year later, the only student in the history of the school to write

her thesis in Latin. She spent the next several months studying clinical medicine with Marie Zakrzewska and Lucy Sewall at the New England Hospital for Women and Children. Yet neither experience satisfied her thirst for formal medical training, and in 1866 she left the United States for France, where she hoped to be admitted to the École de Médicine in Paris. Looking back on this decision in 1871, she wrote to her mother, "I cannot do a thing half way. When I was in Boston, Lucy Sewall considered me stupid, because I could not do things without having studied them, and could not accept her methods without question. In Paris, I am considered one of the most successful students, because I have been able to 'go the whole horse.' Explain it as you may, I always find the whole of a thing easier to manage than the half."[19]

Jacobi's time in Paris testified to her persistence and determination. Although she immediately began attending hospital clinics, lectures, and laboratories, it took her two years of dogged perseverance to achieve her goal of admission to the École. Characteristically, she passed her examinations with high honors and won a bronze medal for her graduating thesis in 1871.

In Paris Jacobi pursued the most advanced medical science of her day. Soon after her arrival there she wrote enthusiastically to her mother, "I have a fair prospect here of becoming a thoroughly educated physician," adding that "unless I am, I certainly will never undertake to practice medicine." Her commitment to the laboratory made it natural that she would welcome the discoveries of the bacteriologists and seek to stay abreast of their findings. She perceived early that opportunities for medical study in America did not begin to compare with those abroad. In another letter to her mother she spoke of New York City's inadequacies:

> I have already sufficient terror of the demoralization imminent from the atmosphere of New York, with its very slack interest in medical science or progress, its deficient libraries, badly organized schools and hospitals, etc. I am doing my best to accumulate a sufficient fund of original force to make headway against these adverse influences, and to subordinate them to my purposes, instead of allowing them to subordinate me.

Yet at the same time Jacobi shunned opportunities for practicing medicine that would take her out of the mainstream, as inadequate as it was. She would not even consider teaching at the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, which she believed to be sincere but deficient, and when offered the position of resident physician at one of the women's colleges she remarked that such isolation from the medical world would be "suicidal."[20]

In 1871 Jacobi returned to New York to join the faculty of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary as professor of therapeutics and materia medica. She also set up private practice, feeling satisfied that "few young physicians could have a better opening." Family considerations and a sense of duty determined the subordination of chemistry—her first love—to private practice. As she explained to her mother, "After all the sacrifices you

have made . . . I see more chance of satisfying you if I am a practical physician than if, without fortune, I try to become a scientific chemist."[21]

Plunging herself into the world of New York medicine, Jacobi fulfilled her ambitions to become a first-rate physician and scientist. She became the first woman to be admitted to the New York Academy of Medicine and later chaired their section on neurology. She gained admission to numerous other medical societies as well and sustained her interest in research by publishing 9 books and over 120 medical articles. The respect of her male colleagues was never in doubt. One younger member of the Pathological Society, for example, remembered her as a woman "whose knowledge of pathology was so thorough, whose range of the literature was so wide and whose criticism was so keen, fearless and just that in our discussions, we felt it prudent to shun the field of speculation and to walk strictly in the path of demonstrated fact."[22]

Perhaps Jacobi's successes in the male professional world were at least in part due to her willingness to accept men as equals—no more, no less. Certainly Jacobi did not share Blackwell's ambivalence toward romantic attachments to men and her private correspondence never reveals the suspicion of marriage characteristic of many accomplished women of her generation. Nevertheless, she sought in a mate a rare thing in the nineteenth century: an intellectual and spiritual companion who could fully support her commitment to her work. Although she had a passionate nature, she was prepared to forgo marriage if she did not find such a man and broke two engagements before she joined the ranks of New York's professional medical elite. While still in Paris she had written on the subject of marriage to her mother: "I have no particular desire to marry at any time; nevertheless, if at home, I should ever come across a physician, intelligent, refined, more enthusiastic for his science than me, . . . I think I would marry such a person if he asked me, and would leave me full liberty to exercise my profession."[23]

Fortunately, Jacobi did meet such a man. In 1873 she became the wife of Dr. Abraham Jacobi, a German-Jewish refugee from the revolutionary upheavals of 1848. Abraham Jacobi was already one of the most distinguished physicians in America and has often been called the father of modern pediatrics.[24] The couple shared common medical interests and collaborated occasionally. Although the marriage was often stormy, it remained a relationship of equals, despite Mary Jacobi's assuredly ironic remark to her students that "it is desirable that every woman remain as inferior to her own husband as may be feasible and convenient."[25]

Jacobi's personal and professional history made her understandably impatient with Blackwell's rigid theorizing, and glimpses of irritability appear in her comments concerning Blackwell's proposed trip to America. On Blackwell's antivivisectionism she remarked coolly, "Of course . . . you know . . . I should oppose you," adding with humor and a touch of wistful regret that a campaign among women physicians would be useless because "I am tolerably confident that I am the only woman in the United States who experiments on animals!"

As for the problem of gynecological surgery, Jacobi was less polite:

> When you shudder at "mutilation," it seems to me you can never have handled a degenerated ovary or a suppurating Fallopian tube—or you would admit that the mutilation had been effected by disease,—possibly by the ignorance or neglect of a series of physicians, before the surgeon intervened. You always seem so much more impressed with the personalities,—sufficiently faulty,—of doctors, than with the terrific difficulties of the problems they have to face. . . . There has been much reprehensible malpractice. But I do not see that malpractice which may render a woman incapable of bearing children differs . . . from the malpractice which may result in the loss of a limb or of an eye. *There is not such special sanctity about the ovary!*

To Blackwell's suggestion that women physicians ought to avoid performing gynecological surgery she retorted, "And why should not women be delighted if they succeed in achieving a difficult and useful triumph in technical medicine?" She added that women physicians should not be urged to strike out for independent views until they had "demonstrated an equality of achievement in the urgent practical problems,—*not of sociology but of medicine.*"[26] The chief task of women physicians, she believed, was not the fostering of morality ("sociology") but "the creation of a scientific spirit" among them.[27]

In the end, Blackwell and Jacobi's differences centered primarily on the role of women in medicine and were aggravated by their divergent attractions to the potentialities inherent in medical practice. Historians have long maintained that much of the rhetoric mustered in defense of women's medical education fell into two broad categories that occasionally contradicted each other. The first set of arguments, which paralleled Jacobi's brand of feminism, emphasized woman's right to self-development and her ability to make a contribution to clinical medicine equal to any man's. Proponents downplayed the physical and psychological handicaps allegedly endured by the female sex and openly challenged the tenet of Victorian culture that relegated woman to the private and the family sphere. No longer were all women necessarily hampered by family responsibilities; a select few could practice medicine in lieu of family and career. These arguments drew their strength primarily from abstract concepts of justice and equality.[28]

Blackwell's thought derived from a second, more popular set of beliefs emphasizing not the essential identity between men and women but their differences. This approach adapted itself more readily to Victorian mythology regarding separate sexual spheres. Women should become physicians because they exhibited unique qualities that allowed them to make a distinct contribution to the profession.

Indeed, a central theme in the story of women in medicine—the tension between feminism and morality on the one hand and professionalism and science on the other—has plagued women physicians up until the present day. Nor

have other women professionals escaped such conflicts. In a society that has continued to emphasize woman's primary maternal role, the stepping out of prescribed avenues of endeavor has inevitably involved for its participants some explanation of purpose. Did women have the right to pursue professional goals, usually considered masculine, with the same vigor as their male colleagues and for similar reasons of self-interest and personal fulfillment? Was the goal of equality legitimate for women, or need they contribute as well to some higher female mission? What obligations did women professionals have to other women, or to female values in general? Did women have to emulate the professionalism of men, or seek to temper dominant male values by asserting their uniquely feminine characteristics?

Blackwell's writings underscored the singular capabilities of women as physicians, which led to a peculiar kind of female chauvinism. The purpose of teaching women medicine was not to convert them into "physicians rather inferior to men," but to occupy "positions which men cannot fully occupy" and exercise "an influence which men cannot wield at all." Those positions had mainly to do with women, children, and the family. Women physicians had to bring science to bear on daily life. This could be done best as family physicians, obstetricians, public health advocates, and teachers of preventive medicine and hygiene, because it was in these areas that women could excel. Other branches of medicine reeked to Blackwell of the tyranny of male authority unmitigated by the dictates of conscience. She cautioned her students against the "blind acceptance of what is called 'authority' in medicine," which she equated with the male intellect. "It is not blind imitation of men, nor thoughtless acceptance of whatever may be taught by them that is required," she wrote. Women students, she regretted, were as yet too "accustomed to accept the government and instruction of men as final, and it hardly occurs to them to question it." They must be taught that "methods and conclusions formed by one-half of the race only, must necessarily require revision as the other half of the humanity rises into conscious responsibility."[29]

In advocating this position Blackwell voluntarily set herself and women physicians apart from the mainstream of professional developments. Rather than assimilate women into the larger group, she preferred to give them special responsibilities in order to achieve what she believed was a higher social and moral purpose. Women physicians were to be in the profession, but not of it.

This stress on the primacy of the maternal qualities of sympathy and instinct troubled Jacobi because she objected to female-centered, moralistic, and separatist standards for women. Her concern for objective science and the centrality of intellectual endeavor remained fundamentally universalistic and assimilationist. For Jacobi the physician dwelt in two realms, the intellectual and the practical. Although she admitted that moral considerations occasionally entered into the equation, she hailed the liberation of science from the mystic and demonic influences of the past and believed that the physician should deal with rational concepts based on objective knowledge. Ideally his business was to "take conditions which science has abstracted for the purpose of thought and to

recombine them for the purpose of life. In the absence of the physician there would be no one to do this." Thus, the physician was the link between theory and practice. Moral issues were often beside the point. The intrinsic difficulty in medicine, she wrote, was not moral, but remained "the great mass of facts which it is necessary to know" and "the variety of sciences which must be understood in order to interpret these facts."

Where Blackwell emphasized sympathy and compassion and identified such qualities with women, Jacobi spoke rarely of exclusively feminine contributions to medical practice. Having a sympathetic nature, she argued, did not necessarily make one a good physician. He or she must be interested primarily in the facts. In the end, she wrote, unless "the interest in the disease be not habitually greater than the interest in the patient," the patient would surely suffer. Jacobi saw women participating in the profession not as a distinct entity unto themselves but as separate individuals united with men by objective, demonstrable, and professional criteria in the search for truth. "Indeed," she cautioned her students in 1883, "you are liable to be so much and so frequently reminded that you are women physicians, that you are almost liable to forget that you are, first of all, physicians."[30]

Jacobi did not reject entirely the notion that women had special strengths, although it is apparent that she believed such characteristics were acquired rather than innate. She admitted, for example, that "it is impossible to deny that women are intrinsically more suitable than men to take charge of insane women" because of their "superior kindness and conscientiousness." She quarreled little with the common wisdom that "tact, acuteness, and sympathetic insight [were] natural to women." Indeed, while stressing the importance of first-rate training, she graciously conceded that "the special capacities of women as a class for dealing with sick persons are so great, that in virtue of them alone hundreds have succeeded in medical practice, though most insufficiently endowed with intellectual or educational qualifications."[31]

Yet despite women's unique skills, Jacobi insisted that they be fully integrated into the profession. She deplored the tendency of women doctors "to nestle within a little circle of personal friends and to accept their dictum as the ultimate law of things." Their role must not be supplementary or distinctive; inevitably skilled women physicians should displace inferior men. There was nothing earth-shattering about women competing with men: "Since society is, numerically speaking, already supplied with quite enough doctors," she wrote, "the only way in which women physicians can possibly gain any footing is by displacing a certain number of men." In order to do so, of course, they needed to be either equal or superior, and this meant receiving a better medical education than had yet been possible.

While Blackwell urged women to specialize, Jacobi continually cautioned women not to concentrate in obstetrics and gynecology, but to devote themselves to a "liberal study of the whole field." Treating women and children should be used only "as a stepping-stone to general medicine." If women "do

not obtain a foothold" there, if they "content themselves with claiming this little corner," she warned, "they will never really gain a high place even there."[32]

Although Jacobi remained suspicious of separatism, she also conceded that the "opposition to women students and practitioners of medicine has been so bitter, so brutal . . . so multiple in its hypocrisy" that women did have common interests as an oppressed class. She repeatedly prescribed grit and hard work in the face of discrimination: "I have always advised you . . . to so saturate and permeate your consciousness with the feeling for medicine," she told the graduating class of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary in 1883, "that you would entirely forget that public opinion continued to assign you to a special, and on the whole, inferior" position. She even urged students to forget that they "have in any way braved public opinion." "Acclimate," she implored, "as quickly and as thoroughly as possible" to your "new place," and don't "keep dawdling on the threshold to forever remind yourselves and everyone else that you have just come in." Medicine remained too demanding a profession for conscientious doctors to allow themselves to be concerned with problems of social status. "If you do not find the facts of medicine more interesting than any other facts," she cautioned, "you are not fit to be physicians."

Yet if Jacobi lost her patience with those who "dawdled on the threshold," the "monopoly" that excluded "one half of the race [from] the advantages of education and the facilities of increased life which that confers" rankled even more. She was not naive; she knew such opposition could be removed only after "much effort, individual and collective, persistent, patient, far-sighted, indomitable." Thus she devoted considerable time and effort to examining the practical difficulties involved in assimilating women into the male professional world. For her the most obvious problem remained what she knew was "the most delicate: actually raising to an equality the class which hitherto has been really inferior."[33]

In acknowledging and working to overcome women's shortcomings Jacobi and Blackwell remained of one mind. Indeed, one suspects that however substantial were their disagreements on theoretical points, practical issues of stragey continually drew them together. Both women deplored women's inferior preparatory education, an education that rendered them deficient in intellectual initiative, dependent on authority, and apathetic—all qualities that Jacobi perceptively labeled characteristics of the subordination of colonial life. In order to rectify such disadvantages, she wrote, medical women must combine as a class to remove the obstacles that had blocked their progress. Their first task was to create among themselves a scientific spirit, by improving medical education for women and encouraging "free, self-sustained, self-reliant intellectual activity." Jacobi hoped that this "gradual progress in mental culture would improve "mental initiative" in women and render them equal to men "in every work that both undertake."[34]

Blackwell had no quarrel with these points. She agreed that the barriers to women's equal access to quality medical education must be removed as quickly

as possible, and she understood that only thorough scientific training would promote women's success. Both women hoped that the unique opportunities offered by the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary would begin to alleviate some of these difficulties. The two stood united as well in the battle to widen women's opportunities for clinical experience and professional association, and both, for different reasons, enthusiastically welcomed the advance of medical coeducation. But where Jacobi's brand of feminism strove to minimize the differences between men and women and to integrate female physicians into the profession as rapidly as possible, Blackwell adhered to the very end to a vision of the woman doctor's unique contribution. This was true at least in part because of her concept of disease was linked to her notions of morality and her belief that authentic moral understanding depended on female intuition. Such assumptions allowed her to equate bacteriology with male science and its triumph with the victory of the male principle over the female. That such a victory would lead inevitably to the denigration of intuition and morality in medicine was deplorable enough, Blackwell believed, but the final and most egregious consequence would be that women would be deprived of their power, purpose, and unique advantage in the profession—and this at the very moment when civilized society was beginning at long last to afford them a role appropriate to their highest capacities.

Blackwell's suspicions of "ignorant male domination" caused her to worry that women physicians accepted male models uncritically. "The only disappointment which comes to me now, as I draw towards the close of a life full of joy and gratitude," she mused in 1889, "is the surprise with which I recognize that our women physicians do not all and always see the glorious moral mission, which as women physicians they are called on to fulfill. It is not by simply following the lead of male physicians, and imitating their practices, that any new and vitalizing force will be brought into the profession."[35]

As first-generation women physicians, Jacobi and Blackwell shared similiar goals as well as the common experience of being pioneers. Their differences on the issue of women appear in retrospect less pronounced than their broad areas of agreement. Each struggled defiantly in her own way with the humiliating effects of discrimination while holding fast to an objective that sought to broaden the sphere of constructive activity for all women. Both saw the role of women in medicine idealistically, in the sense that they rejected its pursuit on the grounds of self-interest and emphasized instead the physician's larger social responsibilities. Jacobi, for example, once declared to her mother: "I look upon a rich physician with as much suspicion as a rich priest." In 1889 Blackwell wrote in the same vein, "I say emphatically that anyone who makes pecuniary gain the chief motive for entering upon a medical career is an unworthy student: he is not fit to become a doctor." Both women believed that the success of women in the profession had immense importance for the general success of women "in every other department of society."[36] On questions of strategy too, they were

usually of one mind: both struggled to widen the access of medical women to superior scientific training and to increase their professional and clinical opportunities. Nevertheless, the two women represented distinct approaches to the problem of women in medicine, and their differences were passed on to succeeding generations of professional women.

Versions of Blackwell's argument remained the most popular in the public and private rhetoric of women physicians. However committed privately later generations of women doctors were to abstract concepts of equal justice, the Blackwell tradition, with its glorification of woman's uniqueness, meshed more easily with familiar cultural verities. Male supporters, too, felt more at ease with the idea that women would not so much compete with them as concentrate their energies in what came to be known as feminine preserves—public health and social morality, child hygiene and maternal care, institutional work, industrial medicine, public school and university teaching and counseling.

In 1926 the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania issued a pamphlet designed to encourage women to pursue a medical career. Its very title, *Natural Guardians of the Race*, illustrates how little the arguments had changed since Blackwell first spoke of the "spiritual power of maternity." Women "will always be necessary in medicine," the pamphlet maintained, because of "their special qualifications for definite fields of practice." Such fields were "child care," the "care of women, foreign medical missionary work," and "the field of research," for which "women have displayed peculiar aptitude" because of their "natural bent for painstaking accuracy and detail."[37]

This bulletin and others like it suggest that women physicians needed extraordinary reasons to justify their deviation from social norms well into the twentieth century, and still viewed themselves as a special group within the medical establishment. Not until the profound cultural changes of the 1960s brought about by the black and women's liberation movements did abstract concerns for equality and justice in the rhetoric of medical women take equal place beside the Blackwellian emphasis on woman's unique capabilities.

Although the fact of their womanhood was central to them both, Jacobi and Blackwell differed in the final analysis on medical issues that went well beyond questions of gender. The achievements of the bacteriologists and the introduction of the concept of specific etiology have been among the most constructive forces in modern medicine for almost a century. Yet the scientific medicine that has flourished since 1900 has done so increasingly at the expense of a holistic approach to the problem of illness. In many respects the worst fears of Elizabeth Blackwell concerning the neglect of psychological, environmental, social, and personal factors have come to pass. Doctors no longer treat the whole patient; they concentrate merely on the disease. Medical science has become increasingly and aggressively masculine. The nurturant aspects of nineteenth-century practice, with its heavy emphasis on intuition, sympathy, and art, have all but disappeared. From the perspective of the nineteenth century, Jacobi's enthusiasm for laboratory science and her identification with the most revolutionary

and dramatic achievements of her profession seem progressive and refreshing. Blackwell's ideas, heavy with religious overtones and convoluted personal idiosyncrasies, appear reactionary, uninformed, and annoyingly shortsighted. But the passage of time has gradually revealed to us the shocking limitations of laboratory science. Once again we must return full circle to deal with factors in disease causation that cannot be measured, recorded, or recreated in an experimental setting.

To be sure, the contemporary interest in holistic approaches to disease is something very different from the kind of position Elizabeth Blackwell occupied a century ago, and could, in fact, have come about only after the supremacy of scientific reductionism in medicine. However, in the midst of such an about-face, Blackwell's vision seems almost prophetic as she mused to a friend in 1853:

> I hope some day to arrange a hospital on truer principles than any that we have yet seen—but in thinking of this subject, I feel continually the want of the *Science* of reform, which I believe is as yet unknown—I should want my hospital to be a center of Science, and of moral growth—in the scientific department I should be puzzled to know how far I ought to unite men and women—In the future I have no doubt that the two sexes, in varying proportions, will unite in every act of life—but now there are difficulties both in their separation and their combination. . . . I should want also in my Hospital to cure my patients spiritually as well as physically, and what innumerable aids that would necessitate! I must have the church, the school, the workshop . . . to cure my patients—a whole society, in fact.[38]

V. Confronting the Old Structure

Introduction

The chapters in the final section of this book discuss women in four different cultures who recognized that the social structure was fundamentally an instrument of power and who tried to mobilize unprecedented power of their own in order to change the constraints under which they lived. Elinor Lerner analyzes the contribution of immigrant and working-class Jewish women in early twentieth-century New York to the suffrage victory in that state. Their effectiveness in helping to alter a power structure that excluded them depended on their prior experience in labor and political organizations of both reformist and radical casts. Lerner's article challenges the official view of the suffrage movement, which attributed the victory to upper- and middle-class Anglo-Saxon women. The leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association deliberately ignored the role of Jewish women because they did not want the movement to be tainted by an association with foreigners or radicals as they turned to a national campaign directed at Congress.

Elda Zappi describes the struggle of Italian working-class women to improve conditions in the rice fields in the first decade of the twentieth century. These women, who were completely outside the established political and economic structure, successfully used the strike to achieve their goals. As Zappi demonstrates, class seemed more important than sex in determining the specific conditions of their oppression. Consequently, they joined with men to create a broad strike movement that included migrant and local, urban and agricultural workers of both sexes.

The last two chapters deal with the problem of changing entire societies. Applewhite and Levy concentrate on working-class women who sought to redefine the political structure and economic hierarchy in the context of the French Revolution. In their re-examination of the roles of women under the Old Regime, particularly the significance of female networks and collective public rituals, and their discussion of how women tried to use traditional methods of self-expression to implement their vision of participatory democracy, they have drawn on the insights of a decade of feminist scholarship. Although the women failed to prevent male revolutionaries from establishing a representative constitution that excluded them, Applewhite and Levy make the radical nature of their efforts clear.

As we began with the observation of women living in the crevices of the social structure, escaping by climbing walls and running over rooftops, finding expression in the squeaking of their shoes, so we end with a vision of eighteenth-century French women using traditional ceremonial structures and patterns to invade public spaces and claim political power. The emerging male democracy destroyed their networks and collective rituals, but the fear they inspired haunted nineteenth-century men and obliged nineteenth-century women to utilize a far

less threatening definition of womanhood to justify their claim to enter the public domain.

Over a century and a half later, Chinese women also tried to exploit a revolutionary situation to smash the oppressive structure under which they lived. According to Mariam Frenier, the Communist land reform of 1946–52 recognized the centrality of female oppression to traditional Chinese society and therefore emphasized the necessity of feminist action to create a revolution at the village level. The Communists taught women the technique of consciousness-raising to define and solve their problems, a technique subsequently adopted by their bourgeois sisters in the west. Frenier's contribution is a suitable conclusion to this book because it celebrates the generation of Chinese women who learned to recognize the structure that imprisoned them and to take the actions necessary to redefine and revolutionize themselves and their society. It also brings together many of the methods for uncovering the female past that have been developed and refined through five Berkshire Conferences on the History of Women.

15. Jewish Involvement in the New York City Woman Suffrage Movement

Elinor Lerner

The American woman suffrage movement is usually characterized as predominantly white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, and upper- and middle-class in composition and support. Although this may be true as far as the formal organizations are concerned, the issue of woman suffrage was supported, often actively, by immigrants and large segments of the working class. This has been noted by some writers, but few detailed accounts of this support have appeared.[1] This chapter will describe the crucial role played by the Jewish community in the suffrage victory in New York State.

New York occupied a strategic position in the struggle for woman's suffrage. Most early suffrage victories had taken place in western, rural states, and suffragists were convinced that farmers and native Americans were their main support rather than the urban, working classes. New York was the first eastern, industrial state to give women the vote prior to the Constitutional amendment of 1920, and a victory in New York was considered crucial for convincing Congress to act on the federal amendment. Suffragists also believed that New York City presented almost insurmountable problems. In 1910 approximately 37 percent of its population was Roman Catholic and 31 percent Jewish. Thirteen percent of the city was either first- or second-generation Irish and a similar number first- or second-generation Italian. By 1920 at least 78 percent of Manhattan's population was either foreign-born or had foreign-born parents.

One author, however, suggested that the role of the urban middle class in accounting for the liberal reforms of the Progressive Era has been overstressed. He believed that the working class and immigrants—the urban lower class—"provided an active, numerically strong, and politically necessary force for reform—and that this class was perhaps as important in determining the course of American liberalism as the urban middle class, about which so much has been written."[2] At least as far as the New York suffrage movement and the Manhattan Jewish community are concerned, this analysis is essentially correct.

New York conducted two referenda on suffrage, one in 1915 and one in 1917.[3] In the earlier vote the issue was defeated by a narrow margin—88,886 men (43 percent) voted affirmatively in Manhattan. In 1917, however, the amendment passed in the city and the state as a whole, with 122,389 (59 percent) casting their ballots in favor of woman suffrage. Although the amendment lost in the state outside New York City, the city's ethnic working-class population carried the state for woman suffrage. It is important to know which elements of that

population supported the amendment. Manhattan was subdivided into approximately 800 election districts, varying in size from one block to ten depending on the density of population. By looking at the election districts that were least favorable and those that were most favorable to votes for women, one can determine the degree and location of prosuffrage and antisuffrage sentiment among Manhattan's male voters.

In both elections the largest, strongest, and most consistent support came from the Jewish community, from Jews of all economic levels living both in Harlem and on the Lower East Side. The strongest and most consistent opposition came from working- and middle-class Irish. Italians were not unified on suffrage: most voted against the amendment, but the largest concentration of Italians in Greenwich Village was consistently prosuffrage.[4]

The Jewish support for suffrage is extraordinary in several respects. Jewish election districts constituted the bulk of the top prosuffrage districts in both elections, and no identifiable Jewish districts were among those consistently antisuffrage. Of the highest 50 prosuffrage election districts in 1915 and 1917, at least 64 percent and 74 percent respectively were Jewish areas. What is perhaps even more impressive is that of the top 100 prosuffrage election districts in 1917, at least 78 were Jewish neighborhoods. The votes in these districts extended from 56 percent to 72 percent prosuffrage in 1915, increasing to 76 percent to 93 percent in 1917.

Not only were the areas that were most strongly prosuffrage predominantly Jewish, but about half of the Jewish neighborhoods were decidedly prosuffrage. In the two elections at least 44 percent and 55 percent of the Jewish election districts in Harlem and on the Lower East Side were in the top 100 prosuffrage election districts. Also striking is the number of prosuffrage Jewish votes. At least 17,000, or 19 percent, of the 1915 prosuffrage votes came from Jewish residential areas in Harlem and the Lower East Side. In 1917 the Jewish vote increased to at least 24 percent of the prosuffrage votes cast. Thus, while the number of prosuffrage votes in Manhattan increased from 1915 to 1917 by 38 percent, the number of Jewish prosuffrage votes increased by 71 percent. In part this was due to an increase in the number of registered Jewish voters, the result of a concerted registration drive conducted by the Socialist party in Harlem in 1916.[5]

The question, of course, remains why New York Jewry was so supportive of the suffrage movement and what role the Jewish community played in its final success. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the suffrage movement in New York followed a fairly conservative approach. The years 1907–11, however, saw a resurgence of activity in New York City, with many new organizations appearing, together with increased popular support. The impetus for much of this change came from working-class women, especially young Jewish workers on the Lower East Side. Suffrage leaders realized the need for new organizations and tactics when working with immigrant women on other issues. Working-class and immigrant women thought highly of the militant

British suffrage movement and favored more aggressive tactics by the Americans. We can see this by analyzing the development of several organizations.

The National Progressive Women's Suffrage Union, following the British movement and seeking a working-class constituency, was formed in New York City around 1907. Although many of its members appear to have been German-Americans, its main bases of support were Jewish garment workers on the Lower East Side and in Harlem around 111th to 125th streets. The union shocked the established suffrage organizations and the public by going to "the people direct, in the streets, on the highways and byways." It was the first suffrage group in the city to hold open-air meetings, attempt a foot parade, and to approach the urban working class at such public places as ball games, beaches, and amusement parks. Its members staged a series of demonstrations and street meetings, which were reported in the press and attracted crowds of thousands. They also distributed leaflets, demonstrated outside of factories, and formed alliances with workers on union and labor issues. In November 1909 union members addressed a meeting of striking necktie workers on the Lower East Side and were well received by the largely Jewish workers. They were then invited to address a mass meeting of the union, and forty or more women left the meeting wearing suffragette buttons.[6]

Another militant organization, the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, was established in January 1907 by Harriot Stanton Blatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Upon returning to the United States in 1902 after many years' involvement in British socialist and suffrage activities, Blatch was disappointed by the stagnation in the American suffrage movement. Channeling her energies elsewhere, she became involved in civic reforms and the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), which consisted of a group of middle- and working-class women attempting to organize women into trade unions. In working with young Jewish women on the Lower East Side in 1906, she became aware of the interest in suffrage among working women and the possibility of establishing an organization in the working class. Equality League membership was open to any self-supporting woman, working-class or professional, and organizations of working women could also affiliate with the league. By 1909 the league contained over 1,000 individual members and 22,000 from affiliated societies.[7]

Reflecting its ties with the Jewish working-class community on the Lower East Side, the first mass meeting of the Equality League in Cooper Union on 4 April, 1907 had among its speakers labor organizer Rose Schneiderman, garment union official Joseph Barondess, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, outspoken leader of the Jewish community. The meeting was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience, which the *New York Times* described as an "undulating mass."[8]

In 1911 the Wage Earners' League was formed by the Woman Suffrage Party (WSP), the major suffrage organization in New York City, and the WTUL. According to Elizabeth Freeman, one of the organizers, the idea of forming

the league began when WTUL and WSP workers attempted to enlist working women and immigrants on the Lower East Side to march in a suffrage parade. Impressed with the strong interest in suffrage and enthusiasm for the parade, Freeman and Lavinia Dock (a nurse at the Henry Street Settlement) thought of starting a suffrage organization for working women and addressed clubs at the Henry Street, College, and Christadora settlements about such a possibility. As with Blatch's League of Self-Supporting Women, the initial interest in the formation of the Wage Earners' League came from working-class, immigrant women on the Lower East Side.[9]

Although the first officials of the Wage Earners' League were members of the WTUL and union organizers—Leonora O'Reilly was president and Clara Lemlich was vice-president—most of the founding members were shirtwaist makers, bookbinders, or gold leaf layers. Membership was confined to "working women from factories and shops and other places where trade union organization might be possible" and was limited so that there would be "harmony of purpose and propaganda and . . . [for] the greatest possible freedom of discussion at meetings."[10]

Initially based on the Lower East Side, the league soon extended its activities throughout the city. A house-to-house canvass to contact working men and women in Manhattan was planned, open-air meetings at factories employing women were held, a "distinctive" leaflet published, and a press committee established. Several mass meetings and large rallies were held, at least one conducted with black women workers.[11]

The last organization to be discussed is the Political Equality League (PEL) founded by Alva Belmont, a wealthy New York society woman who devoted her fortune and time to the suffrage movement. Founded in 1909, the PEL had at least twelve branches by April 1911, which were used to contact New York immigrants, the working class, and blacks. Among the Manhattan branches were the Negro Men's and Women's branch in Harlem and the Fourteenth Assembly District Club, which attracted many young Irish women.[12]

Surprisingly little is known about these branches considering the range and popularity of their activities. In January 1911 the eleven existing branches, with a membership of 1,431, held 186 meetings with a total attendance of 11,116. Mary Beard noted the ability of the branches to attract working-class support for suffrage. Commenting on the need of the WSP to take a more active interest in wage-earning women, she remarked "that such an army of tenement mothers and working women marched with Mrs. Belmont [in the last suffrage parade] ought to stir the sluggish to action."[13]

The first branch, which opened in 1909 in the affluent section of Jewish Harlem, was a three-story house containing a large assembly room. Activities included clubs and classes in public speaking, debating, the study of government and political parties. Opening with much publicity and public interest, the settlement attracted large crowds, steadily enrolled members, and developed a strong neighborhood following. The Wage Earners branch, located in the center of

prosuffrage sentiment on the Lower East Side, opened with a meeting in which a crowd of hundreds "literally packed the halls," which "many more would have entered if it had been possible." The officers of the branch were Jewish women, who planned to hold alternate indoor and outdoor meetings nearly every evening at the Manhattan end of the Williamsburg bridge.[14]

While relatively few Jewish women were among the nationally known suffrage leaders, evidence from New York indicates that Jewish women were active in formal suffrage organizations. The most prominent American Jewish suffragist in the nineteenth century was the Polish immigrant Ernestine Rose, who was active in feminist, suffrage, and abolitionist movements between 1836 and 1869. Known for her "beauty, wit and eloquence," she was a friend and political ally of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the three of whom were instrumental in founding the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Susan B. Anthony regarded Rose as one of the most important pioneers of the suffrage movement.[15]

Later, two New York City women, Maud Nathan and Rose Schneiderman, although primarily involved in other communal endeavors, achieved national renown for their suffrage work. Nathan, best known for her work with the National and New York Consumer's League, was apparently the only Jewish woman to hold a high position in a major suffrage organization. She was a founding member, an honorary vice-chairman, and head of the fifteenth assembly district of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. She was also the first vice-president of the New York City Equal Suffrage League, active in the Equal Franchise Society, and a frequent delegate to the national convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She delivered speeches at several conventions and traveled across the country on behalf of the movement. In 1913 she served as a member of the American delegation to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in Budapest. Unlike most of the leaders in the New York City suffrage movement, who were more secularly oriented, she was involved in the National Council of Jewish Women and in local Jewish affairs.[16]

Rose Schneiderman, an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and an officer of the New York Women's Trade Union League, worked full time on behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association during the 1912 Ohio campaign. A frequent and popular speaker at mass meetings and rallies in New York City, she also traveled often to Albany to speak on behalf of votes for women to the state legislature. She directed most of her suffrage activity toward the working-class and immigrant population, and she became the head of the Industrial Section of the WSP in 1917.[17]

Two other Jews—Lillian Wald and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise—were active in New York City suffrage activities. Both were founding members and honorary vice-presidents of the WSP. Wald's suffrage activities were primarily connected with her work at the Henry Street Settlement. For a time she was the official WSP organizer for South Manhattan. Rabbi Wise, who was one of the most

popular male speakers for suffrage in New York City, was a founding member of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage and also attended the Budapest International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting.[18]

Important and noteworthy as the contributions of these few prominent Jews were, the major involvement of Manhattan Jewry in the formal suffrage organizations occurred at lower levels of organization. Since the WSP was structured like a political party, it had leaders and organizational units in both assembly and election districts. Organizational work was thus carried out in the small election districts of immigrant communities. A study of the 804 delegates to the founding convention in 1909 and membership lists of some 472 original members in the first few years indicates that the more local the organizational and geographic subdivisions were, the more the composition of membership and leadership reflected the local population and not the top leadership of the organization. At least 17 percent of the founding members were Jewish women, and in the most predominantly Jewish assembly districts, 64 percent were Jewish women. Of the five assembly districts with the highest concentration of Jews, four had a continuous history of Jewish assembly district chairmen, often the same women for many years. It is also a testimony to the chairmen's hard work and effectiveness that these four assembly districts had the highest prosuffrage votes in Manhattan in 1915.[19]

Another indication of working-class and immigrant involvement in the suffrage movement can be obtained by analyzing the suffrage activity in certain neighborhoods. The WSP journal, the *Woman Voter*, published a monthly calendar of events and detailed reports of the previous month's work. The Jewish neighborhoods on the Lower East Side were among the most active in Manhattan. As a result of the reporting diligence of assembly district representatives, activities on the Lower East Side were carefully and conscientiously recorded. Over the years there were thousands of street meetings, larger meetings in local parks, indoor meetings, and special events such as dances and parties, with speeches both in English and Yiddish.

The reports written by Wald and Lavinia Dock, as South Manhattan organizers, often commented on and praised the quality of local workers and leaders. Local Jewish women were noted for their political acumen, hard work, and ability to relate to the community. One was commended for the "good practical speech in Yiddish" given to a large crowd at Seward Park. In 1911 Dock praised the "splendid captains and workers" who were "making woman suffrage known in shops and homes and even in the political life of the district." In 1913 Dock described the head of the sixth assembly district as a well-known resident, "much loved and respected," whose efforts, together with those of other local workers, "represented the most sincere kind of propaganda work, personal interviews, street meetings and earnest argumentation." Dock predicted that if their efforts were duplicated in every district, suffrage would win in New York City. In fact, the sixth assembly district had the highest prosuffrage vote in Manhattan in 1915.[20]

Two special projects undertaken by suffrage workers on the Lower East Side provide us with some indication of the numbers of workers involved and the seriousness of their dedication. In 1913 the second assembly district began a detailed census of Jewish households in selected election districts to verify the accuracy of the lists of registered voters and to assess voter sentiment on the suffrage issue. In less than one month 440 voters were contacted and the results of the census analyzed. Realizing the importance of labor unions in the formation of political opinion and as a way of reaching large numbers of Manhattan Jews, two women in the second assembly district began a "systematic course of visitation to the Jewish trade unions of the lower East Side." It was later reported that one of the women, a lifelong unionist, had been able to attend fifty meetings, including those of the Workmen's Circle and a women's society. Among those visited were bakers, cloakmakers, cap makers, furriers, trunk makers, umbrella makers, boys' and men's clothing makers, jewelers, raincoat makers, knitters and sweater makers, and tailors. This visitor reported that the majority were in favor of woman's suffrage. In January 1915 the two women addressed Jewish trade unions and labor associations. In March they were still systematically visiting unions associated with the United Hebrew Trades.[21]

A detailed description of the participation by Jewish women in the suffrage movement does not provide any information on how this activity fit into the overall strategy and tactics of the New York City suffrage movement. We shall therefore investigate the scope and types of suffrage activities directed at Jewish and other immigrant communities to assess this aspect of the campaign.

As early as 1909 the suffrage committee of the Socialist party opened small, neighborhood suffrage headquarters on the Lower East Side and held suffrage meetings in Jewish Harlem. During 1910 and 1911 the frequency of suffrage activity carried out by various suffrage organizations in Jewish areas increased to match the level of other residential areas of Manhattan. By 1912 and 1913 more suffrage work took place on the Lower East Side than any other area of Manhattan. Still, during these years upper-class social events and citywide mass demonstrations were much more publicized and hid the large amount of organizing work being carried out in Jewish areas. During 1914 and 1915 more concerted efforts were begun in other immigrant communities, particularly Italian areas in lower Manhattan and Harlem and the largely German community in Yorkville.

Although local workers did most of the work, central city headquarters to a great extent planned and directed their efforts. The WSP had carefully worked out plans for contacting all of Manhattan's population. The Press and Publicity Committee included professional women writers, artists, and journalists who prepared articles on suffrage for New York newspapers on a regular basis, having established contact with 893 papers, including 683 trade journals, 21 religious papers, and 126 foreign language papers. Some felt that if suffrage were covered in the Yiddish press, it would be easier to receive coverage in other foreign-language papers, so special efforts were directed toward this end. By

1915 it was reported that the entire Yiddish press was in favor of suffrage editorially and all gave space to suffrage news.[22]

The Press and Publicity Committee also published millions of pamphlets, leaflets, and flyers, many in Yiddish, German, Italian, and Bohemian. Those designed to appeal to Jewish voters carried endorsements by Jewish community, political, and labor leaders. The only surviving copies of Yiddish leaflets are those directed to tenement mothers, suggesting that the problems of poor housing and unhealthy food would only be solved if women had the vote.

One citywide strategy, employed with great success on the Lower East Side, was the neighborhood canvass. Long-range plans developed by the WSP called for several visits to each household in Manhattan, with special attention to those with registered voters. Carefully coordinated from central headquarters, women canvassers were to keep card files, recording on different colored cards the sentiments of each voter toward woman suffrage, how often each had been contacted, what type of literature had been distributed, and whether they signed "enrollment slips" indicating support for suffrage and the WSP. Copies of these files were kept both in central Manhattan headquarters and in the assembly district headquarters.[23]

Since this work potentially involved personal discomfort for the canvasser (such as trudging "up and down tenement stairs," toiling "up to the roof of cliff-like apartments," especially in the hot summer months, or encountering hostility from those approached), suffrage workers had to be constantly encouraged to continue canvassing. In some areas, such as the Lower East Side, canvassing was often made into a social occasion, with dinner before or after, where the workers could relax and exchange experiences and techniques.

Another approach, originating from central headquarters and used in various parts of Manhattan, including immigrant neighborhoods, was the use of a traveling team of suffrage workers who would go from area to area with a special demonstration designed to attract a sizable crowd. One tactic employed by such groups was the "voiceless speech," consisting of twenty to thirty large cards printed in plain letters that could be seen at a distance. Placed on a big easel, they were used where suffrage workers were not allowed to make speeches or in addressing an audience that did not speak English. They were so successful on the Lower East Side that for a time they were held weekly in Seward Park with signs in Yiddish. Voiceless speeches were used a year later, during the summer of 1914, to appeal to working men on their way home in the evening, and again were well received.[24]

Another very popular practice on the Lower East Side was the torchlight parade. Suffrage workers provided free yellow caps to those who wished to join in, and the marchers, carrying yellow lanterns, went through the Lower East Side, leaving small groups to conduct street meetings at points along the way. According to one suffrage worker: "The East Side loved the night parades, with music, and great balls of yellow light bearing suffrage messages. Mothers . . . with babies on their hips, the green grocer, the delicatessen owner, all came out

to watch. Children and dogs swarmed under foot, shrieking with joy at the lights and the bands, and it was all so lively and appealing that even tired housewives and young working girls fell in to help carry the banners."[25]

Formal suffrage organizations, however, were not the only link with the Jewish community. Of particular importance for Manhattan Jewry were the Socialist party, the garment unions, and the settlement houses. Although the Socialist party had been one of the first political organizations to endorse woman suffrage, it had expended little effort in the cause. For several years after 1907 a bitter debate was carried on within the party over the relationship of socialism to the suffrage movement and the place within the party for special efforts to organize women. During this time women in the party formed political study groups to educate women about voting and assisted immigrant women in becoming citizens.[26]

Finally, in 1909 the women members of the New York Socialist party voted, with party support, to wage an aggressive suffrage campaign independent of the formal suffrage organizations. In 1914 New York Socialist party women voted to work with the WSP in a joint campaign for the 1915 referendum. In their massive campaign the Socialist party paralleled the work of the suffrage organizations: speakers at mass meetings included some of the more prominent Jews in the Socialist party, such as Meyer London, Rose Schneiderman, and Meta Stern. In 1915 Eugene Debs was a featured speaker, talking nightly on suffrage and socialism.[27]

In the 1917 New York mayoral election, Morris Hillquit was the candidate of the Socialist party. Expressing a desire to keep the issue of woman suffrage nonpartisan, he solicited the endorsements of the three other candidates in favor of passage of woman suffrage, an action that permitted frequent discussion of the issue in a less controversial atmosphere.[28]

Closely allied to the Socialist party within the Jewish community were the garment trade unions. But the importance of these unions was less in the area of active campaign than in providing a structure for suffrage work. Needle trade unions provided a handy vehicle for Jewish feminists to reach voters and also for suffragists to contact large numbers of young, working Jewish women. Woman suffrage was formally endorsed by many labor organizations, which contained a large segment of the working-class Jewish community of Manhattan. Many did little except pass resolutions at conventions, lend their name to public lists of endorsers, and urge their members to vote for the suffrage amendments. But this endorsement was important, since like that of the Socialist party, it lent credibility and legitimacy to the cause for those workers whose primary allegiance was to working-class politics. Among the labor organizations who endorsed suffrage were the American Federation of Labor, the Federation of Labor of New York State, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), the United Hebrew Trades, the Cloth and Hat Makers of North America, the Cigar Makers International Union of America, and the Greater New York Labor Council.[29]

The ILGWU periodically printed brief items on suffrage and the relationship of the suffrage movement to working women in its journal, the *Ladies' Garment Worker*. Unions also facilitated the spread of suffrage propaganda and the involvement of Jewish working women in the suffrage movement in several ways. Many female union organizers had several political affiliations and were active suffragists. For example, both Rose Schneiderman and Clara Lemlich were active members of the Socialist party and the WTUL and worked closely with the WSP. Both utilized their positions as union organizers when speaking to meetings of Jewish working women on the subject of suffrage. Clara Lemlich used her union contacts to organize a large contingent of women trade unionists to march in the 1912 suffrage parade.[30]

Suffragists also became very involved with working women during strikes. During the 1909 shirtwaist workers strike and the 1916 kimono and housedress workers strike, suffragists aided the strikers with money, publicity, and picketing. The ILGWU noted that it was "gratified" by this "welcomed" aid and expressed special thanks to the New York State Woman Suffrage Association and Alva Belmont and Mrs. Milholland Boissevain. In one of the more publicized events of the 1909 strike, Mrs. Belmont rented the Hippodrome for a benefit for the strikers. Held under the auspices of the PEL, with the stage decorated as if for a suffrage meeting, an audience of 8,000 listened to union, socialist, and suffrage speakers.[31]

Many attempts to reach Jewish working men and women were conducted under the auspices of or by efforts of women connected with the settlement houses. Most notable were Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement and Mary Simkhovitch of Greenwich House. Suffrage work was so common at Henry Street that local residents identified suffrage more with the settlement than with the formal suffrage movement. The torchlight parades, for example, were called "Miss Dock's parades." Settlement workers also utilized organizations affiliated with the settlements for suffrage work. At large outdoor suffrage meetings sponsored by Henry Street, "the boys and girls of the settlement" sold buttons and flags, distributed literature, and collected endorsements. A woman on the Lower East Side, active in the Wage Earner's League, used her club at the College Settlement to provide marchers for the suffrage parade in 1912.[32]

Settlement houses also established special suffrage clubs. Because of their physical facilities and contacts with the local community, settlements were ideal for local suffrage work. The Henry Street Settlement Suffrage Club, in existence from at least 1912 to 1915, was one of the most active. It sponsored dances, social gatherings, and indoor and outdoor meetings. In 1912 the club had 200 members and conducted its meetings in English and Yiddish. In the summer and fall of 1915 the club conducted a series of large outdoor meetings in various parks on the Lower East Side on Sunday evenings so that working people and religious Jews could attend. The meetings drew such crowds that "standing room was at a premium." A festive mood was created with suffrage banners

and decorations, flower girls with baskets of flowers, and young boys with yellow lanterns. "To the delight of the music loving East Side" music was provided, ranging from opera to Jewish and Polish folk songs played by a Polish band. Meyer London, Socialist party congressman from the district, frequently spoke at these meetings.[33]

Yet political and union alliances do not explain entirely why Manhattan's Jewish community was so overwhelmingly in favor of extending the franchise to women. The Socialist party was firmly rooted in Manhattan's German community as well, but this group was not prosuffrage. Possibly the answer lay in the political ideology and interests of the Jewish community, as well as the economic and social position of women within that community.

One difficulty in discerning the basis for Jewish support is that it was so widespread and so accepted that it was taken for granted and rarely discussed. In 1911 Lavinia Dock noted that women and children in the neighborhood of the Henry Street Settlement were aware of the suffrage victory in the state of Washington. They knew the exact numbers of women registering and the details of the victory. On their own initiative, Jewish women approached her with questions about suffrage and how to become citizens. In 1915 she reported that at least 75 percent of those canvassed in Jewish neighborhoods on the Lower East Side favored suffrage.[34] In an article on religions and suffrage, the WSP stated: "It is a well known fact that the Jewish people are in favor of the movement." And in an article on the prodigious effort required in Manhattan to enroll supporters in the WSP, the author noted: "In Manhattan among the Jewish people, Mrs. Lottie Levine and Miss Rose Shur led a delegation of their countrywomen who did not have to work as hard to convince their own people as did some others, since the Jews are favorably disposed toward the suffrage movement."[35] Jewish publications did not always devote much coverage to the issue, taking community support for granted. *The American Hebrew* carried very little suffrage news, but did note that a Russian-Jewish community in New Jersey had voted overwhelmingly for suffrage, and that shortly thereafter the Lower East Side also had voted large prosuffrage majorities. Commenting on this phenomenon, it pointed out that this "was to have been expected when one bears in mind the fierce longing for democracy which dwells in the hearts of Jews of Russia."[36]

Of course, given the liberal and radical political sentiment in the pre–World War I Jewish community, it is not surprising that suffrage was supported so strongly. Many Jewish men and women who came to the United States had been active in labor and radical politics in Europe and continued these activities within the radical Jewish unions and the Socialist party. Some American Jews justified their support for female suffrage on universalistic principles. Stephen S. Wise stated: "The women's movement is not a feminist movement at all, but a human movement. It is not a sectional movement but is international in scope."[37]

But generally, more specific reasons were given. At a suffrage rally on the

Lower East Side, Meyer London said: "The last person to oppose granting suffrage . . . should be the foreign-born men who had fled the political oppression of their own countries." Many Jewish immigrants had a sincere faith in democracy and were convinced that American democracy was deficient with segments of the population disfranchised. As Rabbi Wise noted: "If you believe in a democracy, you cannot escape the inevitableness of woman suffrage." During a period of considerable anti-immigrant, anti-Jewish feeling and concerted efforts to tighten the requirements for citizenship and limit immigration, American Jews favored the extension of civil rights to all groups, seeing any restriction as a potential threat to themselves. Certain groups also hoped to gain politically from the enfranchisement of women. The Socialist party thought it could enroll many young working Jewish women. By enlarging the franchise, the labor unions, particularly the garment unions, hoped to elect sympathetic legislators who would enact prolabor legislation. Indeed, by 1918, 46 percent of Manhattan's voters registered with the Socialist party were women. In Jewish Harlem, 52 percent of the Socialist party registered voters were women; on the Lower East Side, 50 percent were.[38]

These often-cited characteristics of Jews—political activism, social awareness, propensity toward unionization and radical politics—applied to women as well as men. Compared to other immigrants and working women in Manhattan, Jewish women seemed more politically aware, more concerned with education and intellectual matters, relatively easier to organize, and more socially concerned. Some attributed this to uniquely Jewish characteristics, as did Rose Schneiderman when explaining why Jewish working women responded to unionization attempts: "We find the Jewish girl especially responsive to its call. Perhaps it is because of the centuries of persecution that the race has had to endure, that she is easier to reach than the American girl who believes there is freedom of opportunity for all. Then, too, the Jewish people are idealists and are ready to fight injustice whether it be industrial or political."[39]

The cultural and economic position of Jewish women in eastern Europe is also offered as an explanation for the political and economic activism of American Jewish women. In eastern Europe Jewish women functioned as an integral part of the family economic unit, especially where the male head was primarily a religious scholar and the responsibility for family support rested on the wife and older daughters. The most common occupations of women were shop owners, peddlers, and seamstresses. When the mass immigration from eastern Europe began, many Jewish women were already working in industry, usually the garment trades, in the large cities. Many Jewish women had also been active in labor and radical political movements in eastern Europe, and many middle-class Jewish women were highly educated. All these factors came together and enabled Jewish women to face an easier transition to industrial city life and participate more easily in politics than women of other ethnic groups.

The American Jewish community also contained no significant organization or institution that was outspokenly antisuffrage. Unlike the Catholic church,

which was highly centralized, hierarchical, and vocally antisuffrage, Jewish religious institutions were decentralized and attitudes on suffrage were determined largely by the individual rabbi. As early as 1912 mass meetings for the woman's vote were being held in temples in Jewish Harlem. And by 1917 several religious organizations, including the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, had endorsed woman suffrage.[40]

The American woman suffrage movement was faced with the tasks of convincing men to share their political power. Its success depended on the ability of women, who had no formal access to the vote, to persuade men to grant them that right. Its success in a community, therefore, depended on strong support from women, a channel through which women could effectively convey their demands to men, and the belief on the part of the men in the community that woman suffrage was, in some way, to their own advantage. Because of both past European and present American circumstances, the Jewish community in Manhattan lent itself most readily to providing support for woman suffrage. In addition, because of family and occupational structure, male and female members of the household frequently worked in the same occupation. This, together with the high rate of unionization, provided a structure in which men and women had many of the same political and occupational interests, and where it was possible for women to press feminist demands upon males in their workplace and family. Suffrage was thus seen by many Jewish men in political rather than personal terms. Women's votes were seen as being beneficial to union and radical politics and as advancing the interests of the worker and also those of the Jewish community.

We must still explain why in reading accounts of the New York City suffrage victory there is no hint of the crucial role played by the Jewish communities. The WSP attributed its success to the hard work and dynamic leadership of the suffrage organizations, massive public support, endorsement by such prominent men as President Wilson, and democratic sentiment engendered by World War I and women's patriotic war service. Without doubt all of these factors contributed to the victory, but they do not distinguish between those who supported and those who opposed the movement. Writing several years later, Carrie Chapman Catt claimed that "all parties, races, nationalities and religions supported the amendment," with most support coming from "uptown residential" districts, not "radical downtown" ones. Clearly, a careful analysis of the vote in 1915 and 1917 reveals that this statement was erroneous.[41]

In an analysis of the 1915 vote, the Woman Suffrage Party noted that suffrage in Manhattan did better than in the other four boroughs, with three assembly districts voting by a majority for suffrage. These three—the sixth, eighth, and twenty-sixth—comprised the heart of Jewish Harlem and the Lower East Side and contained the highest percentage of Russian Jews of any assembly district in Manhattan. Two other, mainly Jewish, assembly districts (the tenth and fourth) lost by very few votes. WSP coverage mentioned neither this nor the Jewish composition of the districts providing a majority for suffrage. Instead,

the article lauded the results in several middle-class, Anglo-Saxon districts, whose margin of loss was much larger than in the tenth and fourth.[42]

This lack of recognition of Jewish support plus public statements by some suffrage leaders blaming their defeat on immigrants and working-class voters led Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock to protest both in public and to the WSP. In a letter to the *New York Times* Wald pointed out that foreign-born voters had been much more in favor of suffrage than native-born or "Anglo-Saxon naturalized citizens." Although not mentioning Jews specifically, her letter made very clear exactly which sections of Manhattan had been most favorable to suffrage. Lavinia Dock wrote to the *Woman Voter*, pointing out the same information, and chided the party for hinting that immigrants had not supported suffrage. With disarming innocence, the *Woman Voter* thanked Dock for her information! The party, however, continued to refer to "immigrants" and the "foreign-born" as if they constituted a homogeneous group with similar attitudes and political behavior, without distinguishing the different degrees of support between the Irish and the Jews or within the Italian community.[43]

These vague general statements, obviously misleading analyses, and omissions cannot be attributed to ignorance. Suffragists in Manhattan were fully aware of the difference in support between Irish and Jews, the Catholic resistance to suffrage, and the split within the Italian community. The party maintained careful records of voters canvassed and knew where the support and opposition was located. Suffrage leaders, especially Catt, were known for their political astuteness, their ability to formulate long-range plans, and their careful attention to organizational detail. In fact, it may have been precisely these qualities that led suffrage leaders to minimize the crucial role of Jews and radicals in the New York City suffrage victory. During World War I this was viewed as a political liability in the effort to secure a federal amendment. In seeking support from conservative southern states and desiring to represent themselves as "American," suffragists were particularly sensitive to accusations of radicalism, anti-Americanism, and pacifism.

The numerous controversies taking place during the 1917 victory in New York may help explain why Jews were not accorded recognition for their extraordinary support of woman suffrage. American entrance into World War I had heightened political tension in Manhattan and was an important issue in the mayoral campaign. The Socialist party took a firm pacifist stand and, until the Russian revolution, many Jews were opposed to American involvement in the war. At the same time, most suffragists wished very much to appear patriotic, and the major suffrage organizations offered their services in the war effort. After the election, the extent of Jewish and socialist support became a political inconvenience for suffrage leaders whose sights were firmly set on Congress and the federal amendment.

As soon as the 1917 election results were known, antisuffrage forces proclaimed that socialists and pacifists were responsible for the New York victory. The WSP denied these charges, but found itself hard-pressed to offer substantial

counterarguments. In an attempt to disassociate itself from radicalism, the WSP did not even invite a representative of the Socialist party to sit on the stage, along with representatives from all other parties, at its mass meeting victory celebration. This public snub by the WSP caused such an outcry that Vera Whitehouse, the head of the WSP, formally expressed "gratitude for socialist aid" and noted that "the Socialist candidate for Mayor contributed generously to the cause." At a mass meeting several days later, Socialist party leader Hillquit replied that Socialists did not "expect either recognition or support" from suffragists. Claiming that the Socialists had "secured the vote to the women of the State," he noted that the suffragists' "frantic disclaimers only amuse us."[44]

The WSP continued with these disclaimers, thus making it impossible to fully recognize Jewish support in New York City. Because of the tendency of scholars studying social movements to focus on movement leaders and official statements of policy and analysis, especially when dealing with a politically self-conscious movement that wrote much about itself, the impression that the movement wished to convey is often what is accepted. Consequently, the political need felt by suffrage groups to disengage from radical allies has resulted in obscuring the strong base of support for woman suffrage provided by New York City's Jewish population.

16. "If Eight Hours Seem Few to You . . .": Women Workers' Strikes in Italian Rice Fields, 1901–1906

Elda Gentili Zappi

Mobilization of women weeders of the northern Italian rice belt took place in 1901 under the initiative of the Italian Socialist party. Women weeders staged waves of strikes that won them an eight-hour workday in 1906, an event unprecedented in Italian labor history. Weeders, who formed the largest group of women wage earners in the Po valley, were the first wage earners to fight energetically for such a demand, which all entrepreneurs, rural and urban, still stubbornly opposed as a violation of elemental economic norms. This event, too, was exceptional in women's history: not only did a group of women spearhead the struggle for an eight-hour workday in Italy, but also, precisely because the weeders were women, with clear ideas of their sexual needs and their responsibilities to their families and society, they were best able to see and to appreciate the need for a shorter workday. They thus mobilized to the utmost the few means at their disposal to attain this goal.

The Italian rice belt, the most important in Europe, stretches in the Po valley from the present-day provinces of Vercelli and Novara to Lomellina in the province of Pavia.[1] Shortly after the introduction of rice in northern Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century, it assumed the character of a capital-intensive and labor-intensive crop.[2] At the turn of the twentieth century, rice was cultivated on large and middle-sized farms, and still required an extraordinary number of seasonal workers, local and migrant, for weeding, harvesting, and threshing.

Of these three operations, weeding (*monda* or *mondatura*) cost the most in wages and was therefore the one on which the capitalist farmer tried to exert the greatest pressure to cut expenses. It needed the largest number of hands. Most of the weeders (*mondarisi*) were women, but there were also some children and a few men. It was imperative to flood the fields while the workers pulled the weeds. Their bodies bent over the ground, the weeders had to spend the whole day standing up to their knees in water, which aggravated the difficult conditions they shared with all agricultural workers of the period. Weeding took about forty days between the end of May and the beginning of July, which was the malaria season.[3] Nearly eighty thousand weeders worked in the rice fields each year. Slightly less than half were migratory workers, some from neighboring zones, others from distant northern regions; they were recruited by special agents who exploited those they hired.

Rice workers did not conceive of the possibility of organized change in working conditions until 1901. In that year the government issued a law for malarial zones subsequent to the discovery that the *Anopheles* mosquito carried malaria and that quinine was the appropriate drug for its treatment. According to this law, charitable institutions or communal administrations had to provide quinine to all workers and their families in the zones declared malarial. Farmers were required to bear the costs.[4] Also in 1901, after almost a decade of political repression, labor organizers were allowed to work freely in urban and rural Italy. This contributed to a political climate more favorable to labor reform, a climate fostered also by the Italian Socialist party. Founded in 1892, this party, while defining itself as Marxist and revolutionary, had by 1900 already adopted a gradual, evolutionary program and was ready to reach a modus vivendi with Giovanni Giolitti, the influential statesman who had been elected Italian prime minister five times.[5] From 1901 to 1913, Giolitti implemented his own liberal ideas of government, urging respect for civil liberties and the law, and passage of economic and social reforms, with the parliamentary support of the Socialists.

The agricultural workers of northern Italy greeted the new political climate with an outburst of labor activity unprecedented in the rural zones, activity that resulted from the work of dedicated Socialists among the masses of day laborers, who believed that the Socialist party alone could do something for their condition.[6] The Socialist newspapers of the main cities of the rice belt closely followed the activities of the organizers.[7] These labor leaders taught the field workers that the Italian constitution granted everybody the right to assemble and even to strike, as long as the strikes and assemblies were not violent.[8] These leaders were propagandists, "comrades" (*compagni*), men who traveled from village to village making speeches.[9] The majority were city dwellers and only a few could be identified as farm workers (*contadini*). There were two main categories of organizers: first, deputies or would-be deputies of the Socialist party, like Luigi Montemartini, Fabrizio Maffi, Modesto Cugnolio, Egidio Cagnoli, and Umberto Savio, all of whom belonged to bourgeois, sometimes well-to-do families, and were physicians, lawyers, or professors; the others were city workers—barbers, teachers, journalists, and even municipal employees. They all carried an important message to the rice workers—that laborers could redress their grievances only by organizing improvement leagues to channel their rebellious impulses that previously had erupted only in short-lived, spontaneous protest movements. Workers responded by forming three networks of leagues or district federations, two of which associated with the newly created Chambers of Labor in Novara and Vercelli. Weeders also responded by staging strikes.

The history of the weeders' strikes between 1901 and 1906 had two periods of roughly equal duration. The work stoppages of the first year, after some initial successes, resulted in total failure. The defeat served to uncover the inner weaknesses and flaws of the women's organizations, which were totally decimated. In the second period, beginning in 1904, the women recovered their strength, staged a second wave of strikes, and won an eight-hour workday in 1906.

The leagues emerging in 1901 had a great deal of ground work to do if they

wanted to see changes in some of the old labor practices. Several obstacles stood in their way, such as variations in wages and work schedules, which sometimes differed greatly in places only a few miles apart. Besides, support for the leagues was far from unanimous and, in many communes, as the organizers put it, "The improvement league . . . has not yet entered into the heads" of the weeders.[10] The leagues were also aware that the entrepreneurs, far from accepting them as a negotiating party, would not break with the tradition of fixing working conditions directly with individual weeders or squads of women every Sunday or Monday in the *piazza* or the town hall, where the mayor, the subprefect, or other officer acted as mediator. But the greatest threat to success arose from the competition each year between the migratory weeders and the local women in the labor market. To overcome this, both local and migrant women not only had to arrange equal contracts at the moment of hiring but also had to exercise control over the number of traveling weeders needed for the season, in order to avoid unemployment in the rice belt as well as wage decreases.[11] Some migratory weeders coming from areas where the Socialist party had already made decisive inroads were receptive to the idea of a coordinated campaign with local women. Most, however, were not interested in cooperation.

Under these conditions, the organizers took a cautious attitude. In March and April of 1901 they were still unprepared to conduct a program of action within their local areas. As a result, they felt it was impossible to carry through a similar plan in regions many miles from the rice belt. They considered it premature to ask the entrepreneurs to accept uniform pay rates even for the local work force. They advised the weeders to avoid spontaneous and impulsive strikes, and, if they could not, to remain at home and send a commission to the mayor and start negotiations through him with their employers. When strikes did occur, the weeders had to give up the illusion that the league would prevent all disasters and misfortunes. They were obliged to refrain from disturbing and harassing the laborers who came to replace the striking women. According to Italian law, this was a crime against the right to work, for which the defenseless weeders could be convicted and put in jail.[12]

The main points of the leagues' program were: first, equal pay during the six or seven weeks of weeding and, hence, the end of the tradition of the weeders reporting to the *piazza* to settle the weekly pay with the entrepreneur; second, the nine-hour workday; third, the right of local women to be hired before the migratory weeders; and fourth, suppression of the agents or leaders of the migratory squads—the notorious *caporali*, *capi*, or *capisquadra*—and their replacement by the league or some other mediating body appointed by the women.[13]

At the same time, the rural employers themselves organized and formed three local associations: the Federation of Agriculturalists of the Lomellina, the Association of Agriculturalists of the Vercellese, and a similar organization in Novara. They acknowledged neither the existence of the leagues nor their demands.[14]

Weeding began around 20 May 1901 in a tense atmosphere. The local women staged numerous strikes, testing their strength to an extent far exceeding the judicious counsels of their Socialist organizers. The most common immediate request of the strikers was a wage raise (granted in many cases) followed by a demand for decreased working hours from ten or eleven hours to nine hours per day. This latter demand was granted only on very few occasions. What happened in the commune of Albano Vercelli was typical. The women made the usual two demands, wage increases and a decrease in the workday, but the farmers agreed only to the wage raise. The weeders then struck on 20 May. Women who were permanent workers, however, were forced to weed because of prior contracts. When the permanent workers approached the fields, acts of violence took place. The mayor, the marquis of Gattinara, himself a big landowner, told the security forces that the strikers began to fight against the arriving women in order to stop them. But the permanent weeders retorted that they had refused to work and decided to leave, that the farmers and stewards began to drag them back by their arms, and that when the strikers tried to free them some arrests were made.[15] This exceptionally long work stoppage lasted nine days. It ended in total success, but at a rather high price: out of two hundred strikers, fifteen were sentenced to a term ranging from fifteen to forty days in jail.[16]

In some cases, authorities and farmers arrested or otherwise harassed women for activities less disruptive than violating the right to work; and most often the women were powerless to retaliate. In one commune in Lomellina, the mayor threatened those workers who struck or read newspapers in public with imprisonment. In another one, he put five women in jail for several days because they had struck with their fellow weeders.[17] In yet another commune in Vercelli, all the farmers dismissed their local weeders on Saturday, 30 June, under the pretext that the weeding was over. But when the women arrived to receive their weekly pay on the following day, the farmers proposed that if they still wanted to weed they would be paid only 1.75 lira a day instead of the promised 2.05 lire.[18] On one occasion some women demonstrated against local unemployment when farmers hired migratory weeders. In protest, hundreds of local women weeders entered the rice fields and began to weed next to the migrants. This was all in vain, for they were neither hired nor paid.[19] The newspaper of Lomellina also reported how in desperation a group of weeders went to the headquarters of the *carabinieri*, where they told the commander that without work "they would be unable to pay their debts and feed their children, to which he replied that they must not accumulate debts and that they should not have married and not have had children." The article ended by asking: "But doesn't this man have a mother?"[20]

The migratory squads, even if organized, were not informed of the action taking place in the rice fields. Once they arrived and saw that they had to work twelve, thirteen, or fourteen hours instead of nine or ten, they could not break the contract without running two dangers: to be left without food because they

came with no cash to buy it or to be put under the control of the police as people without means of support. In the latter case they would be sent in a column to a nearby railway station, packed into a cattle car, and returned to their places of origin.[21]

The organizers acknowledged that the mobilization efforts of 1901 had been a failure and that the leagues were in disarray. Nevertheless, as they said, they did "not lose heart."[22] The whole experience had exposed the problem of competition between local and migrant weeders, though it had reached no resolution. In 1902 and 1903 strike and protest activity decreased considerably, not only in the rice fields but in the entire Po valley. In 1902 the farmers flooded the fields with migratory squads, causing widespread local unemployment. Up to two-thirds of the farm workers of the Vercellese were idle by mid-June. Women who were weeding had extra time added to their schedule and earned very low wages. The farmers replied to weeders demanding work, "There is no weed." But they suggested that for those who agreed to a very low rate there would be as many weeds as they wanted.[23]

At the end of 1903, however, the leagues managed to reemerge with the firm determination to implement an eight-hour weeding day for the 1904 season.[24] The women wanted eight hours of work, eight hours of rest, and eight hours of instruction, which would contribute to better health, full employment, and higher wages. The organizers had arguments in support of such a demand. Modesto Cugnolio, labor leader of Vercelli, discovered the existence of an 1866 law on rice cultivation. The so-called Cantelli regulations, never enforced, contained protective measures against the "miasmas" of the rice fields, which were then thought to cause malaria. One of the regulations limited the workday from one hour after sunrise to one hour before sunset. Thus, the laborers would not be in the fields when the fumes were thick. It was in fact the time when the workers were most susceptible to being bitten by the mosquitoes. The Cantelli regulations, if applied, would have automatically led to a shortening of the workday. In addition, the National Health Council established in 1903 that weeding more than eight hours would be detrimental to the health of women and children. Cugnolio, a reformist Socialist, strove to gain the eight-hour day, invoking the Cantelli regulations, which the government was reluctant to apply, and advocating the passage of new protective legislation. But Parliament did not pass a new bill.[25]

When farmers insisted that their right to free contract remain unchanged, the weeders took things in their own hands. In May 1904 the league federation struck. The authorities deployed the police, the *carabinieri*, and the army to keep order. Newspapers reported that several women were pushed by the forces of order into a gutter, some were inflicted with bayonet wounds, while others were put in jail for violating the right to work.[26]

The struggle was fought with different degrees of intensity and in forms so varied that they defy generalization. As a result of the strikes, the majority of the weeders, both local and migrant, obtained wage increases and a shortened

workday. But the eight-hour day was won only in a few communes. This failure was due to the squads' lack of discipline and to the fact that they were ready to stop the strike as soon as they were offered better conditions, without consulting the groups striking on other farms, hence weakening the whole movement. Also missing was the support of members of the migratory squads, who, although sometimes willing to join the strikes, could not do so because they worked under the surveillance of troops.[27] When migratory weeders were able to stop working, they received meals and financial help from the local federations. On some occasions these women asked to be sent home, in one instance alleging malaria, but wishing in reality not to interfere in the struggle of their sister weeders.[28]

The year of 1905 was difficult for the whole proletariat of the Po valley because of severe unemployment. But the women did not give up. In 1906 they again prepared themselves for the struggle. Work stoppages began on the first days of weeding on some farms of the Vercellese.[29] From there the strikes spread throughout the region and ended only when the weeding was over.

These labor conflicts had certain common traits. Weeders were ready to return to work in a few communes where the entrepreneurs agreed to an eight-hour day and a wage raise. Some squads settled for a longer work schedule, but they struck over and over again until their employers granted the desired working conditions. They systematically rejected very attractive wage offers with which the entrepreneurs enticed them to work more than eight hours. Even those weeders who had won the eight-hour day often decided to strike again later for wage raises. Communes with weak organizations began to initiate direct action and enjoyed their first successes.

Once a squad declared a strike, its members began marching from farm to farm inviting the weeders to join their swelling ranks. The migratory women also followed the marchers unless they were watched by the military. On one occasion, while the strikers were asking the migratory weeders to stop working, cavalry soldiers rushed to the spot and entered the rice fields. The horses became frightened in the muddy waters, fell down and trapped the soldiers and their lieutenant under their bodies. They escaped from their difficult position with the help of the women, who offered them first aid and cleaned them with their red kerchiefs.[30]

Parading strikers carried red and white banners, extolled the general strike, and sang a new song that suddenly was on the lips of all the weeders: "If eight hours seem few to you / Try working / And you'll see the difference / Between work and giving orders." The increasing number of troops sent to the region did not intimidate the women. More than once the strikers tried to break the ranks of the cavalry soldiers who barred their way by thrusting themselves through the legs of the horses. Sometimes, however, the soldiers achieved their greatest aim, to seize the strikers' banners, thus inflicting one of the worst offenses to the marchers.[31]

The most extraordinary events took place in the commune of Vercelli, where

labor problems were the most explosive. The metal workers—many of them members of the families of the weeders—were unemployed and in the middle of an eight-week-old lockout at the end of May. The bakers were fighting a battle for the abolition of night work.[32] Women working in the largest textile factory wanted a shorter workday and a wage raise. The millers and gardeners asked for the same things. Finally, the carters complained about unfair job conditions.

On Thursday, 31 May, the weeders, after marching through the farms, went to the railway station and decided to prevent a group of migratory women from reporting to their jobs. The cavalry surrounded the place and the travelers were locked inside the station for two and a half hours until they were allowed to get to the street through a back gate. The strikers discovered the trick and ran after the newcomers, aiming at the horses with their canes to fend off the cavalry charges. Finally, the migrants joined the strikers. Amid enthusiastic applause and cries of "Long live the general strike!" the two groups returned to the station. But before going back, they also demonstrated in front of the nearby textile mill to encourage the women there to strike for better conditions.[33]

Tensions grew on the following day. At five o'clock in the morning the column of weeders began to stop all workers on their way to work. Almost all factories, workshops, schools, offices, stores, and coffee houses of Vercelli were immediately closed. New strikers, especially women, joined the crowd parading through the streets, barring vehicles from entering the city and invading the public square to interrupt operations in the public market. The league organizers held a rally and urged the workers to resist, but at the same time told them to get rid of fanatics who were committing acts of vandalism. Meanwhile, the troops tried unsuccessfully to clear the city of demonstrators, who remained in the streets until the labor leaders announced that the employers had yielded to the weeders' demands.

The following day, Saturday, promised to be a quiet one but that was not the case. The textile workers were locked out of their factory that morning and found it guarded by troops. They then walked to one of the squares, Piazza Torino, where the main events of the day were going to take place. Soon, all the other workers who had labor grievances, supported by the weeders who were not to return to work until the following week, reached the square too. During their march they demanded that all the other employers dismiss their work force. The greatest disturbances occurred when the cavalry attempted in vain to disperse the crowd from Piazza Torino. The demonstrators repelled charges, pushed the troops out of the square, and built barricades to resist their return. In the afternoon, at the announcement that all the entrepreneurs were conferring with workers' commissions, ready to solve all the pending labor conflicts, the clamor subsided and the demonstrations of Vercelli came to an end.[34]

No organization planned the general strike of Vercelli. The weeders, by striking on their own initiative, spurred other dissatisfied workers to join them and to stage the large-scale protest. Although the strike was crowned by great success,

more than twenty demonstrators were put in jail, charged with disturbing the public order and abusing army officers. These costs to individuals were heavy, but in all the work stoppages of the weeding season, the women won because they dared to protest forcefully. The organizers did not expect the women to gain as much as they did and sometimes negotiated terms not accepted by the weeders, who nevertheless continued the strike until they reached a satisfactory agreement. In many instances, wages and work conditions were thereby fixed for all other farm operations as well, to the advantage of those groups of laborers.[35]

The six-year experience in mobilization was a radical breakthrough in the lives of the weeders, who, despite occasional spontaneous protests, had been resigned to their lot for centuries. No matter what other work the women performed, their earnings from weeding were indispensable to meet essential needs. Therefore, once they heard the teaching and propaganda of Socialist party members and saw the chance of fighting for material improvement, equality, and dignity, they plunged into the resistance movement. In their initial enthusiasm they overestimated their own forces, suffered many setbacks, and learned many things at their own expense. By 1906 local and migratory weeders were able to coordinate their moves and therefore made it more difficult for the entrepreneurs to play one group against the other to impose their own conditions in alliance with the government.

The strikes of 1906 changed not only the working conditions of the weeders but also those of other groups of field workers. The work stoppages looked like skirmishes, but were part of a larger battle fought for the whole work force of the rice fields.

The vast dimensions that the mobilization of the weeders had achieved became evident in the general strike of Vercelli, where women weeders offered support to discontented urban workers. Here links between the countryside and the city were forged, because weeders, members of their families, and their friends were engaged both in urban and agricultural work and were equally exposed to Socialist propaganda. The women realized that these bonds opened the possibility of workers' cooperation and seized the right opportunity to help attain the particular aims of each protesting group.

Hence, the women's protest transcended work-related issues, such as wages and length of the workday; its extension to other groups and areas reveals a broader sense of class solidarity. The weeders' collective conscience also explains why women gave priority to their demand for an eight-hour day over wage increases. They knew that, as women, their duties toward their households did not stop with wages earned in the rice fields. Shorter weeding hours meant more time to meet the other ordinary and extraordinary family needs that they faced as daughters, mothers, and wives. Besides weeding, they engaged in other paid work, individually or as a family, or in housework and child care. A shorter day meant that women could leave later in the morning for the fields. More time at home allowed working mothers to find someone to care for their children, who had often remained unattended in the past. Women also wanted more

time to provide better care, food, and health for their families and thereby secure a brighter future for their offspring. Finally, the weeders' strikes of 1906 moved the national government, after long delays, to prepare a new bill on rice cultivation, which was approved in 1907.

The first stage of the mobilization of the weeders came to an end with the victory of 1906. Weeders understood that only a sustained battle would keep their employers from invalidating their hard-won gains. Consequently, the women rice workers, enriched by the experience, continued to defend their conquests and to strive for more triumphs.

17. Responses to the Political Activism of Women of the People in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1793

Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline Gay Levy

Women of the popular classes in revolutionary Paris made a major contribution to what is most significant, even unique, about the Revolution: its achievement of the most democratically based popular sovereignty in the eighteenth-century Western world. Feminist claims for civil and political rights growing out of enlightenment liberalism never became central to the revolutionary power struggles and were denied by the Napoleonic Code. But the political activities of women were at the heart of revolutionary politics.

Traditionally and typically, revolutionary democracy has been studied principally as it affected male populations. However, it has been the historians who have overlooked women, not their own contemporaries. Male revolutionary leaders remarked upon, exploited, and often attempted to control the activities of female revolutionaries. Their observations of women's mass interventions in revolutionary politics indicate the limits of the first experiences of democracy in France.

On 22 September 1789 a Paris newspaper called *Le Petit-Gautier* published the following anecdote. The morning after the taking of the Bastille, the editor had seen a mother with her children pulling down a small wooden toll station on the bridge behind the Arsenal gardens in Paris. When the editor asked why she was knocking it down, she replied: "Haven't you ever paid your toll on this bridge? I demolish abuses, and I am going to make my pot boil with the wood of Despotism."[1] Materially and symbolically, this nameless woman was converting the supports of monarchy into fuel against it. She can stand for thousands of women of the popular classes in revolutionary Paris who used the corporate and institutional supports of a paternalistic Old Regime to build a new revolutionary doctrine of popular sovereignty and to create a participatory democracy in which they, along with men of humble rank, acquired de facto citizenship.

The popular classes' claims to rights of active citizen participants were put before the constitution drafters and lawmakers right from the beginning of the Revolution, at the end of a century-long shift in attitudes toward the poor, male and female. Notables, including the philosophes, no longer considered them honorable sufferers whom the wealthy could succor to demonstrate Christian charity. The philosophes, especially, had seen much more earthly political potential in the poor; they saw the masses' strength as a double-edged sword.

When unsheathed, this sword was potentially threatening to public order, but it also could be wielded in combat against despotism.[2]

This view of the people as simultaneously dangerous and useful produced two radically different interpretations of citizenship in the first six months of the Revolution. Proponents of a constitutional monarchy stressed national unity as the cure for despotism. This unity became the basis of sovereignty in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Article III of the Declaration read: "The principle of sovereignty rests essentially within the nation. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate from the nation expressly."[3]

The concept of perfect unity was quickly abandoned when the deputies writing the Constitution faced the tasks of delineating the rights of citizens. They did not want the brutish majority to be able to outvote the enlightened minority. Only "active citizens," that is, males meeting relatively high tax qualifications, were given the vote; 40 percent of the electorate eligible to vote for the Estates General in the spring of 1789 was eliminated from the favored categories of active citizens. Furthermore, representatives were not subject to referenda or recall; they were chosen by indirect election. In the phrase of the Declaration, all authority emanated from the nation, but this emanation was an abstraction never translated into specific constitutional rights.[4]

As this progressive and protective narrowing of citizenship and sovereignty was being codified, the politicized masses, who in part were provoking it, were seeing themselves as the sovereign nation and acting accordingly. Radical journalists theorized and justified their position. One spokesman, Pierre-Jean Audouin, wrote that citizens, who are the nation, are entitled to make civil, military, ecclesiastic, and criminal laws—all the laws.[5] Camille Desmoulins went even further: "Sovereignty resides in the citizenry, and they never delegate their power except by mandate . . . which is revocable at will, because the will of the populace is the supreme law."[6] What for us is most significant is that women, both demographically and politically, comprised a principal force among that populace.

In Paris *le peuple*, women included, elaborated and practiced programs between 1789 and 1791 that gave them a real share in the daily exercise of power. Their tactics included frequent meetings in clubs, popular societies, and section assemblies; surveillance; boycotts and *taxation populaire* (forced requisitions and sales of foodstuffs); petitions, strikes, denunciations; attendance in the galleries of the Constituent Assembly; popular veto, exercise of the right of recall, open and public deliberations; and democratization of membership in the National Guard.

Thus, two fundamentally different and incompatible concepts of citizenship were being worked out simultaneously. On the one hand, constitutional legislation legitimated an abstract nation of passive citizens who embodied a sovereignty that it in no way acted upon; and on the other hand, singularly aware and active Parisians, men and women, claimed sovereignty by practicing an

almost daily intervention in public affairs. Notables like Jean-Joseph Mounier complained that the Rousseauistic definition of the nation as the complete union of all the individuals in it had led to false pretensions to sovereign citizenship and had "incited the poorest least enlightened class." This kind of sovereignty, he believed, was a disaster. "Everything has now become national," he wrote after the October days in 1789. "Crimes are committed in the name of the nation; brigands call themselves the nation; and in each city and village, the nation is discovered exercising sovereign rights derived from this beautiful title, which very often produces somewhat ferocious sovereigns."[7]

Rousseau perhaps can be credited with having conceptualized the most influential theory of popular sovereignty; the tactics and formulas of popular sovereignty were shaped by the polemic of radical journalists like Louise de Kéralio, Pierre-Jean Audouin, Camille Desmoulins, Louis-Marie Prudhomme, and Jean-Paul Marat. Popular sovereignty also can be considered a logical development from the long tradition of collective identities and activities shared by the Parisian *menu peuple*: common interests in security and subsistence; communal daily labor among laundresses or fishwives or market women; collective identity fostered by corps and *métiers*, parish-based church and charitable activities; and finally, participation in festivals, religious processions, and demonstrations.

Women were inextricably bound up in networks of collective experiences common to the non-elites of Paris. It was unthinkable and impossible for authorities and radical men alike to separate them out. Those who gave testimony to the police interrogators after the October days did not generally find it extraordinary that women were centrally involved; nor were observers like Siméon-Prosper Hardy or Louis-Marie Prudhomme struck by women's demonstrations in Paris earlier. Modern historians—George Rudé and Richard Cobb, for example—have seen women's activism as part of an insurrectionary tradition in times of dearth and as an indication that women became politically and publicly active only during subsistence crises. Our reexamination has led us to understand women's activism as much more regular and frequent, and above all, as based on a broader range of principles, objectives, and tactics than has previously been acknowledged.

Women of the people played central roles in the public spaces of ancien régime Paris and Versailles. Women monopolized certain trades: the Dames des Halles ran the stalls of the central markets, and the fishwives (*poissardes*) sold their husbands' catch. Some guilds exclusively for women survived de facto after Turgot's official abolition; guild women submitted demands for protections to the Estates General in the spring of 1789. Women participated in religious and seasonal festivals and processions; they instigated insurrectionary protests, like *taxation populaire*. Finally and most significantly, women had established roles for themselves in key events that legitimated the monarchy. *Poissardes* verified the birth of a royal male heir; corporations of women were part of the celebration of royal birthdays and marriages; and deputations were

sent to the king in times of drought and dearth. It was on the base of these traditions that women of the people built their revolutionary expectations and, in company with male radicals, eventually claimed full sovereignty.

We proceed now to an examination of key events in the Revolution where citizenship and sovereignty were being redefined. In August and September 1789 Paris was in turmoil over the high cost and scarcity of bread; in Versailles, the National Assembly struggled to define the fundamental rights of citizens and to place limits on monarchical authority. During these weeks, popular agitation in which women were involved, and marches of thanksgiving and supplication where they were the principal participants, seemed to contemporary observers ominous portents of social unrest and political upheaval. Two particularly prescient observers were Siméon-Prosper Hardy, Parisian bookseller and diarist with an eye for colorful detail and a sensitivity to the symbolic import of events, and Louis-Marie Prudhomme, editor of *Révolutions de Paris*, a particularly good reporter of nuances of partisan opinion. Both observers placed the women's processions in the tradition of religious festivals of thanksgiving and supplication, full of symbols of harvest and nurturance—flowers, loaves of bread, and grapes. What was strikingly new was their linkage of this tradition with revolutionary political and military institutions: an elected government in the Hôtel de Ville and a bourgeois National Guard commanded by Lafayette, scion of the aristocracy turned republican revolutionary in the New World. Women marchers in these processions were not spontaneous celebrants pouring out of doorways to surround the citizen-soldiers. They were grouped by trade, district, and parish; they marched to drumbeat; they were recruited, organized, and orchestrated in advance. It probably is not possible to reconstruct precisely their lines of command and control; but it is clear that Jean-Sylvain Bailly, mayor of Paris, and Lafayette were at the center of a network of political power. As leaders of a municipal revolution, they conspicuously displayed the political strength behind their positions to the deputies and the king at Versailles, but they also struggled to limit and restrain the passions of an aroused city—hungry, seething with rumor and tension, heady with doctrines of popular sovereignty discussed in every café and on every street corner.[8]

On 7 August a deputation of Dames des Halles went to Versailles to congratulate the king and queen on the beginnings of the Constitution. The traditional connection between royal legitimacy and women's perennial concerns over subsistence takes on a new significance when we reflect that the market women were congratulating the king for acquiescing in a constitution that would limit his powers. They addressed him as "our dear man, our good friend, and our father," in that order; they asked the queen to "open your heart to us, as we have opened ours to you [ouvrez-nous vos entrailles, comme nous vous ouvrons les nôtres]." These were hardly phrases of subservient loyalty; they emphasized bonds of affection, but simultaneously connections of power.[9]

In Paris the line of march of the thanksgiving processions symbolically linked the protection of Paris to its patron saint (the Eglise Sainte-Geneviève), its

national church (Nôtre Dame), its new representative government (the Hôtel de Ville), and its military force (the National Guard). When Lafayette was lauded as protector and implored as father, his fatherhood was related both to his leadership of Paris and to his link with the Crown. He was to replace "arbitrary despotism with enlightened justice." His authority was recognized as a force to be reckoned with precisely because he had the popular support of Paris behind him.[10] For example, when women from the St. Martin market marched again, it was to Lafayette that they made their request that, after the harvest, bread prices be fixed at eight sols for a four-pound loaf.[11]

The Dames des Halles continued to expand upon their traditional roles; simultaneously, the authorities, who were aware of their symbolic value, tried both to use and to control them. Prudhomme reported that the Paris police had ordered that until the National Assembly produced new legislation on guilds, these market women would have to abide by old regulations governing their status.[12] The mayor of Paris, Bailly, tried to oversee the policing of women's processions and deputations, but he was also quite willing to exploit them to demonstrate the political might of Paris to the royal ministers at Versailles. On 20 August he received a reply to his request that the women from the St. Martin market (who had marched in the thanksgiving procession in Paris on 10 August) be granted an audience with the king. The minister replied that he had been willing to admit the women from Les Halles, but no more. "I ask you to forbid others to come from Paris. You can easily see that such a claim would soon arise in all the markets in Paris, which would create a mob and perhaps generate unrest among the people."[13] Bailly was trying to control and legalize deputations sent to Versailles, while at the same time reaffirming (through conspicuous displays) the market women's and popular classes' roles as principal supports of royal legitimacy. The minister, on the other hand, was apprehensive about an organized group of Parisian market women precisely because their encounters with the king could be exploited to expand popular mobilization.

On the morning of 25 August, bread was completely lacking in Paris. There were disturbances at the doors of bakeshops. Lafayette led 160 National Guardsmen to Versailles to swear fealty to the king. These troops were announced and preceded by a deputation of Dames des Halles. Prudhomme commented that it was right and proper that the market women should be received first. Bailly took an oath to respect legitimate authority and to have it respected, to protect the rights of citizens, and to render justice to all.[14]

The centrality of market women's roles was acknowledged where broad questions of royal legitimacy and governing authority were raised, provided the women operated according to existing regulations and expectations. There was, however, a sense of uneasiness among active citizens about women's manifestations of political concerns as the month of September wore on. The bookseller, Hardy, who initially had dismissed critics of the Parisian processions, was palpably disturbed by a march he described at considerable length on 14 September. Hardy reported that there were between one thousand and twelve

hundred marchers, a "good portion" of the men and women from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine: six or seven hundred girls and women marching four by four, National Guardsmen, trumpeters and drummers, *vainqueurs de la Bastille* carrying weapons they had used along with a wooden model of the Bastille, and eleven debtors whose debts the marchers had paid to secure their release from jail. He found this march ridiculous, but at the same time frightening:

> Many people found there was something terrifying in [the procession's] arrangement, composition, and immensity. Sensible people found these public acts, which could not be interrupted and of which piety was unfortunately not the full motive, ridiculous. They thought it would have been infinitely wiser for each citizen and each citizeness to thank the Almighty individually . . . rather than collectively.

Hardy also found these marches disturbing because they seemed to portend new troubles in the coming month: counterrevolutionaries might be trying to foment disorder to provoke and justify even more repressive measures in the fall and winter.[15] But Prudhomme was not so apprehensive about the procession of 14 September. In fact, he remarked: "If we lack bread and laws, at least we have pageantry and devotions to console us." The march to him was a clear celebration of the conquest of despotism by "the courage and the power of liberty."[16]

Both these observers, differing radically in their evaluation of the implications of this march, agreed that it signaled the potency of an organized populace. The women marchers were noticed and described, but their presence was not remarked as unusual or especially significant. It was rather the orchestration of different groupings that struck them: girls and women going to pray to the Virgin, the Bastille conquerors, workers from the faubourg, released debtors, and the armed National Guard—all bearing symbols of hunger and harvest, fallen despotism, and the armed might of a free citizenry.

These two months of ceremony, agitation, and uneasiness set the stage for the second of the great revolutionary *journées*. The October days gave the king further notice of his impotence, reminded the constitution makers in the National Assembly of the debt they owed to popular protest, and taught the nation that its destiny was increasingly in the hands of the people of Paris.

On the morning of 5 October, Parisian women, many from the same markets identified in the earlier processions, gathered at the Hôtel de Ville to demand that Lafayette lead them to Versailles to ask the king and the National Assembly for bread. Lafayette vacillated; the women departed for Versailles without him, but marched with many National Guardsmen. Lafayette followed hours later with several companies of National Guardsmen and an armed popular escort estimated by Hardy to number between twenty-four and thirty thousand.[17] In Versailles some women were allowed to petition the king; meanwhile, women in throngs entered the National Assembly and actually took over deliberations for a time in the evening. Early on the morning of 6 October, the general tumult led to violence between the National Guard and troops guarding the king. A num-

ber of guards were killed, some women were injured, and crowds mobbed the palace; calm was not restored until the king, appearing with his family on a balcony to address the crowds, promised to return with Lafayette, the Parisian National Guard, and a group of deputies to take up residence in Paris. Earlier, he had consented to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and other constitutional decrees without any qualification or reservation.

Women's behavior on 5 and 6 October inside the meeting hall of the National Assembly was a demonstration of female political power that was of immense significance for the development of popular sovereignty during the Revolution.[18] The march to Versailles was not an unexpected shock to contemporary observers, regardless of their reaction to it. As we have seen, it grew out of the traditions of women's activity during subsistence crises and their processions to Sainte-Geneviève to pray for rain. The right of market women to verify the legitimacy of a newborn heir to the throne connected them logically to the legitimacy of a constitutional monarch. The ritual marches since August had included women's deputations sent to Versailles. Furthermore, the Paris municipal government had been authorizing these processions; the National Guard accompanied every one of them.

When the women from Paris swarmed into the meeting hall of the assembly —not restricting themselves to the galleries but milling about the floor, sitting in deputies' chairs, and later, in Mounier's absence, even sitting in the President's chair—they were appropriating the tradition of charivaris and abbeys of misrule, using dramaturgy and farce to ridicule the rule of governing authorities. They shouted, chanted, interrupted debate, and demanded that the deputies discuss subsistence problems in Paris. The *Journal de Paris* noted their odd dress—some of them wore elegant clothing, but with hunting knives or half-swords hanging from their skirts. "M. le comte de Mirabeau requested an order from the President to restore liberty and dignity to the National Assembly; but orders are more difficult to execute against women because it is almost impossible to apply force against weakness."[19] When Mounier returned from his audience with the king, they gave him back his chair as presiding officer willingly enough, but they chided him for his support of "ce vilain Veto." Mounier, as we might expect, interpreted that as evidence of their stupidity and ignorance, but we also can see these remarks as impromptu farce, festival personification of what was to be ridiculed.[20]

The women's goals—a combination of subsistence and new constitutional objectives—seemed clear enough to a trenchant observer like Hardy. They wanted bread, plenty of it at an affordable price, and regular policing of grain transports to assure continued availability. Hardy also reported their announced intention of bringing the king and the National Assembly to Paris and obtaining the king's consent to the Constitution.[21] Prudhomme added their intention to protest and punish the Flanders Royal Regiment's insult to the revolutionary cockade at a banquet some days earlier.[22]

The official response to the October days may be represented by two sources,

the account by Mounier, president of the National Assembly, and the testimony collected by the Paris court of inquiry, the Châtelet. Mounier had evolved from hero to near-traitor in the eyes of radical revolutionaries. Initially famous for leading the revolution in Dauphiné in 1788, he lost his popularity when he supported an upper house in the new legislature and an absolute royal veto over legislation. He began to be excoriated as a turncoat and a front man for the aristocrats. When he left the assembly on the afternoon of 5 October to ask the king for an unconditional acceptance of the Declaration of Rights, he encountered some of the women from Paris asking for an audience with the king. He agreed to take six with him; he was compelled, he reported, to take twelve. They seemed moved by the king's sympathy and understanding of the bread crisis in Paris.

When Mounier returned to the National Assembly to report that the king would accept the Declaration of Rights and the suspensive veto, he found women occupying the hall. His report coupled the women marchers with the vile low men, both making up a mob of outrageous and menacing *bas peuple* whom he did not know how to handle, except by feeding them like animals: his response to their demands and threats was to order that dinner be brought to them. These riffraff, literally substituting themselves for the nation's rightful representatives, sitting in the president's chair and voting on motions, were for Mounier the ultimate dramatization of Rousseauistic doctrine; they administered the shock that propelled him right out of the National Assembly and back to Dauphiné.[23]

Interrogators gathering testimony for the Châtelet inquiry into the October days phrased their questions to establish a conspiracy theory. Most questioners did not consider the women they queried to be very significant autonomous political actors; they were bribed or drunk or led by men, or—the ultimate dismissal—men dressed in women's clothing.[24]

Radical journalists and polemicists were ambivalent about the October days: eager to celebrate another triumph of the Parisians over reactionaries, yet uneasy that the sovereign people were bursting out of control. They resolved their ambivalence by transforming the women into heroines, larger-than-life figures who served as inspirational symbols rather than people with a dangerously loud political voice. A medal was struck to commemorate the return of the royal family to Paris; it showed them led by a female goddess of liberty.[25] The unknown author of a polemic, *Les Héroïnes de Paris*, ascribed to the marchers a sophisticated political objective, to return the king to Paris where he would live under a permanent people's surveillance. The polemicist apologized for their crudeness; this, he said, was because the rich imposed poverty on them along with lack of education and vice. At the same time, he credited them with nerve and energy, which had to be channeled, reined in: "They must not embark upon any more expeditions which could degrade them." They must become disciplined; they must not drink in excess; they must not model themselves after charletans, street players, jugglers, magicians, and other uncontrollable

popular entertainers. Their political roles should be limited to maintaining surveillance over guards at tollgates and to prevent rotten fruit and spoiled grain from being imported into Paris. In short, this nervous sympathizer was calling for the women's metamorphosis into *bonnes bourgeoises*.[26]

Radical revolutionaries observing the complex confrontations between the women of Paris, their allies in the National Guard, the monarch and his defenders, and the National Assembly, were in fact reporting confrontations, collisions, and uneasy collaborations between practitioners of popular sovereignty and defenders of constitutional monarchy. They have taught us to read the evidence from October 1789 from the bottom up, seeing popular politics as a developing phenomenon with roots in traditional popular culture and connections to revolutionary institutional innovations. In the October days, women were at a transitional moment. There were elements of ritual drama, of charivari, in their actions—playing leader, judging judges, punishing those who escape punishment the rest of the year. But they were not parading through the town square on a holiday; they were invading the palace and the National Assembly on a rainy weekday. They were oddly costumed, with some even elegantly dressed, but they were armed. Prudhomme, for one, strained to read this behavior as a manifestation of love between the people and their king; he dismissed aristocrats who tried to seduce the women by telling them they would have bread if the king had his full authority.[27]

But Hardy, Prudhomme, most deputies, and probably the whole politically conscious nation knew better. The people of Paris, women prominently in the forefront, had invaded the hall of their representatives, captured their king and queen, and placed them under their permanent and constant surveillance. Faydel, a deputy interrogated by the Châtelet who had been at the bar of the National Assembly the evening of 5 October, reported that when he, Faydel, referred the Parisians to their own city government, a young man replied: "'Do what you are asked; don't fancy that we are children you can play with; we have our arms raised.'"[28] Later that evening when Faydel tried to leave the meeting hall, women seized him by the coat. He told them that the Assembly had no authority to grant what they asked; at precisely that moment, a woman was occupying the president's chair.[29] The sequence of events underlined dramatically the people's definition of sovereignty as the right to legislate directly, backing up the law with armed force if need be.

Our final contemporary view of the October days comes from a long account by an anonymous male radical journalist, an account dedicated on the title page to French women. The author recounted that two or three thousand women assisted in drawing up the assembly's decree and the king's response on guarantees of protection for the free circulation of grains in Paris. In this process, the women moved about among the deputies and voted with them on motions and amendments. "Thus, on this incomparable day they exercised the functions of the legislative power and of the executive power." The women discussed bread prices and provisionment problems with the bishop of Langres, who was presid-

ing in the absence of Mounier, and the bishop offered money to those among the women who lacked it. Other deputies repudiated this idea, "and the women added generally that if there was money to give, it should be deposited in the national treasury."[30]

This presentation of the women's position probably was calculated to counter the arguments of municipal authorities, who, in an effort to downplay the constitutional implications of the women's march, were labeling the marchers bribed agents of the Duc d'Orleans. However, at the same time that he was serving his own partisan ends, the author of the polemic underlined and expanded the political significance of the women's actions. In identifying and labeling the women as actors playing roles as executives and legislators, the author attributed to them the organization and sophistication they consciously reached only later on, in 1793. In 1789 the Versailles marchers were at a transitional point: they acted directly and on their own behalf to push their representatives on issues that affected them; they exercised surveillance over an untrustworthy king and a constitutional convention; and they were developing a right of referendum, but were not yet citizens whose influence was institutionalized and perpetuated through formal organization.

Less than four days after the march to Versailles, the king and queen appeared before the people gathered in the Tuileries garden in Paris. Hardy's descriptions documented the erosion of royal legitimacy. A great many in the crowd refused to bare their heads; no one cried "Vive le Roi"; and there were inarticulate murmurs of gross epithets, which, Hardy added, "signified absolutely nothing."[31] The point is that they signified everything, the shattered trust in the king that would undermine the constitutional monarchy before it was even off the drawing boards.

Within the next weeks, the National Assembly took up residence in Paris and decreed martial law. The precipitating incident was the lynching of a baker, one Denis François. He had allowed a woman to enter his shop to look for hidden loaves of bread, after she had been told he did not have any. She found three loaves the assistants had reserved for themselves and went out to stir up a crowd with her news. The crowd mobbed the shop and found six dozen rolls being held for deputies to the National Assembly. The baker was seized, initially rescued by district officers and taken to the Comité de police, then seized again and lynched, his severed head paraded on a pike. A woman trouser seamstress was arrested and convicted, with a man, of having "made seditious proposals" tending to incite people against the National Guard. She was sentenced to the stocks and forced to wear a placard with the words "woman making seditious proposals."[32] The Paris Commune asked the National Assembly to decree martial law. This the assembly did, empowering the National Guard to enforce it. The decree stated that, after martial law had been announced, "all assemblages, armed or not, are declared criminal acts, to be dispersed by force." Before dispersing, however, the demonstrators could present a petition containing their grievance, in a delegation of six. If they refused to disband, they could be shot.[33]

Two districts of Paris protested this decree, the Bonne Nouvelle assembly claiming that the purpose of these gatherings was only to ask for bread: a man could not be expected to starve at home in silence. Even more significantly, they objected to the lack of consultation before the decree on martial law was passed.[34] This clear demand for a right of referendum, grudgingly acknowledged and ludicrously limited by the permit for six-person delegations, presaged the petition on the Champ de Mars a year and a half later. It also hearkened back to subjects' traditional rights to submit grievances to a paternalistic monarch. Here again, we find women central to the redefinition of citizenship as a concept linking communal traditions, enlightened monarchy, and the Rousseauistic idea of popular sovereignty. The authorities' response was to circumscribe narrowly the collective political roles of "passive citizens," male and female. The people, male and female, had to reduce their very powerful collective demonstrations to six-person delegations or face the guns of the authorities.

In the year and a half that followed, the National Assembly completed its blueprint for a constitutional monarchy and passed a number of laws limiting the rights of citizens: the suffrage decrees, prohibition of collective petitions, and a law prohibiting strikes. What underlay these regulations were particular interpretations of sovereignty, the individual, and the state, interpretations that placed women once again at the center of the debate.

The suffrage laws were passed at the end of 1789, setting up a narrow electorate of fairly well-to-do males and an indirect electoral system that assured that those elected would be from higher socioeconomic strata. Women's suffrage did have some advocates, notably Louise de Kéralio, Olympe de Gouges, and Condorcet, but it was never debated on the floor of the National Assembly. On 9 May the assembly took up the issue of collective petitions, that is, petitions submitted on behalf of an organization or a group that did not bear individual signatures. Clearly underlying the discussion was the sense that revolutionary organizations and popular societies had their roots in the corporate underpinnings of absolute monarchy, rather than in the Enlightenment notion of individualism. The deputy Le Chapelier defined collective petitions as a support of despotism, and his reading of Rousseau makes a fascinating counterpoint to Mounier's finding mob rule in the general will. Le Chapelier declared: "In a free government there are but two kinds of rights, those of citizens [and] those of the nation." If popular societies were allowed to publish the results of their deliberations and circulate petitions for signatures, they would become influential and powerful, and might undermine the whole authority of representative government. Individual rights would be lost to corporate bodies. The people must speak only through the voices of their representatives.[35]

This view did not go unchallenged. Pétion objected to the exclusion of passive citizens from the right to petition, and Robespierre stated that inactive citizens needed to petition even more than active ones, who had other ways to make demands. On the second day of debate, the deputy Fréteau stated that the debate so far had omitted "a very worthwhile portion of society—women. I ask

whether a widow could be prohibited from presenting a petition to the National Assembly." His remarks were applauded. The wording finally adopted in the law, which allowed only petitions individually signed, was as follows: "The right of petition belongs to any individual." One particularly disgruntled deputy, Toulongeon, responded: "You have just extended the right of petition to any citizen, to women, to children, to minors, to foreigners."[36]

This debate indicates that women were on the minds of deputies who drafted the Constitution of 1791. Whatever their particular conclusions, deputies did not see women as insignificant or unimportant, nor did they ignore them as a category of the sovereign people. Rather, they singled them out as a population with special needs, perhaps even deserving of special consideration. They disagreed sharply about the extent of their rights, the extent of their threat, but they did not treat them as invisible. It remained for historians to do that.

The next dramatic episode of collective violence occurred in Paris in July 1791, when the Constitution was almost completed and the deputies were trying to regain control of the situation following the king's attempt to flee France and his ignominious return as a near-captive constitutional monarch. For three weeks following his return, the Cordeliers Club had led a mobilization of popular societies and section assemblies to challenge his legitimacy and ultimately to organize massive petition signing for a nationwide popular referendum on the future of executive power under the new constitution. Here, we simply want to acknowledge women's central role as petitioners operating within a network that connected the popular societies, the Cordeliers Club, the Jacobin Society, Parisian municipal authorities, the National Guard, and the National Assembly. Put harshly, the male authorities' response to women on the Champ de Mars was to attack them indiscriminately along with the men and later on to arrest some of them as seditious criminals.[37] Authorities recognized that women were not restricting their political participation to issues of subsistence; rather, along with men of the popular classes, they were taking a stand on the central political issue of executive authority and national sovereignty.

In this selective review of male responses to women's political participation, we turn to the radical phase of the Revolution, the period of Jacobin ascendancy (beginning in the summer of 1793), and to the activity of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women. When this exclusively female society was first officially registered with municipal authorities early in May 1793, Jacobin leaders appeared to welcome a working alliance with women who had valuable connections with section leaders, popular societies, members of section assemblies, and clubs (including the Cordeliers Club).[38] In the weeks following the ouster of the Girondins from the Convention, which they had helped to prepare and execute, active members of the society, principally Pauline Léon, proprietress of a chocolate manufactory, and Claire Lacombe, an actress recently arrived in Paris from the French provinces, formulated and energetically advocated radical penal reform, occupational training for girls, and enforcement of a public moral code, where the licensing and practice of a systematic politics of terror was

advocated as the means to enforce legislation guaranteeing provision of subsistence commodities.[39] In the late summer and early fall of 1793, the militancy of the society's members, the spectacle of their organized activity, the content of their doctrines and programs, and their close contacts with the Enragés (spokesmen on the far left for the sansculottes' interests) became progressively more disconcerting, even alarming, to male observers, especially to Jacobin leaders.

The response of Pierre-Joseph-Alexis Roussel and his English guest, Lord Bedford, to a meeting of the society that they attended in the fall of 1793 is particularly instructive. These male observers singled out for mocking commentary the women's costumes (which included the red liberty cap), their demands for the right to wear the revolutionary cockade, and their proposals that women play a directing role in the organization of revolutionary festivals, marriages, and education. But they also made derisory comments about a member's speech to the society. Femme Monic used examples from history to show that "women can form battalions, command armies, battle and conquer as well as men"; she cited women's behavior in the *journées* of the Revolution, especially the march to Versailles, and specifically commended a battalion that sought out "the despot of Versailles"; she demonstrated that women "deserve to govern. I would almost say, better than men"; she concluded that the society should deliberate further concerning the "rank women should have in a republic and whether they should still be excluded from all positions and from administration." Following Femme Monic's speech, other members proposed the formation of a women's army of thirty thousand, as well as women's admission "into all branches of administration"; they favored a petition to the Convention for a law requiring women to wear the revolutionary cockade.

Having pictured the Revolutionary Republicans as organized women with a self-conscious awareness of women's proven abilities in military affairs, politics, and administration, Roussel and his English visitor wanted to dismiss, as delusions of "overheated brains," women's plans for expanding the organizational bases of their influence. Yet they had to acknowledge that the society's propositions were dangerous precisely because women already enjoyed in the private sphere a "universal and consequently dangerous ascendancy." Giving women "credit in government" would cause "new discord." In the end, Roussel admitted indirectly that denying women their political rights, including "credit in government," was a last desperate stratagem for preventing their "ascendancy" from overflowing the boundary between the public and private spheres to find effective organized expression in the political arena.[40]

The Jacobin Society's increasing ambivalence towards the Revolutionary Republicans exploded into open hostility at the society meeting on 16 September 1793. Jacobin leaders, who a few weeks earlier had warmly greeted deputations from the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women and supported its members' doctrines and policies on terror and subsistence, now exposed Revolutionary Republican leader Claire Lacombe, along with Theophile Leclerc, an Enragé journalist already condemned earlier. Lacombe was denounced for

fomenting disorder in Paris, demanding the constitution in a period of "revolution," that is to say, of emergency government, and attacking authorities, including Robespierre, charged with administering the Terror. At their meeting the Jacobins voted to ask the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women to purge itself of suspect members, to detain Lacombe, and to have her arraigned before the Committee of General Security.[41]

These minutes of the Jacobin Society meeting do not contain gender-based accusations against Lacombe. Rather, her politics and her affiliations are linked to those of suspect Federalist and counterrevolutionary activists. However, in her own published account of events at the Jacobin Society on 16 September, Lacombe exposed the deep, gender-based bias that ran through the Jacobins' denunciation of the Revolutionary Republicans and their targeting of her leadership. The strongly colored remarks of the Jacobin Chabot were cited abundantly: "I know what risks you run when you embitter a woman"; women's political behavior was a "crazy mania"; women had allowed themselves "to be led around," in part by men with whom they were romantically involved. Above all, in her report Lacombe revealed the Jacobins' misogynous tactics: to confuse and combine femininity, radical democratic politics, and antipatriotic, even openly counterrevolutionary, behavior.[42]

In late October a brawl involving the Revolutionary Republicans and the market women provided the Jacobins in the Convention with their excuse for a full-blown investigation of the society and a clampdown. This repression came at a point of rupture in relationships between the Parisian working poor, including women of the popular classes, and the Montagnard government. The Montagnards were reluctant to enforce laws decreeing political terror and stringent price controls. They were threatened by the radically independent grassroots politics that the Revolutionary Republicans, along with a larger sansculotte population, practiced daily.

Reporting to the Convention for the Committee of General Security on 9 Brumaire (30 October), the Conventionnel Amar opened his report by rewriting the recent history of a close, productive affiliation between the Jacobins and the Revolutionary Republicans, referring to "several women, calling themselves Jacobins, from an allegedly revolutionary society." He also linked the women's revolutionary costumes, pantaloons, red liberty caps, and the revolutionary cockade (which the Convention itself had just recently mandated for women) to bizarre, unnatural behavior. Rather than recommend moderate action—an investigation of the society's leaders, or even this particular society's elimination on the grounds that it was fomenting or provoking disorder—Amar recommended outright suppression of all women's clubs and associations. He based this recommendation on openly sexist argumentation. "Should women exercise political rights and meddle in affairs of government?" Lacking in knowledge, attention span, devotion, steadfastness, self-abnegation, self-direction, rhetorical skills, and powers of resistance to oppression—all sine qua non conditions for fulfilling public functions—women were constitutionally incapable of govern-

ing. "Should women meet in political associations?" The purposes of these associations—unveiling enemy maneuvers, education, surveillance—were declared incompatible with women's natural roles, "the cares to which nature calls them," and which, interestingly enough, conformed to "the general order of society." Acting on Amar's combined claims that the Revolutionary Republican women were politically dangerous, and even more fundamentally, were inappropriately, unnaturally political in the first place, the Convention voted to prohibit all women's societies.[43]

Commenting on this decision, Prudhomme wrote in his *Révolutions de Paris*, exhorting the newly silenced women:

> *Citoyennes*, be honest and diligent girls, tender and modest wives, wise mothers, and you will be good patriots. True patriotism consists of fulfilling one's duties and valuing only rights appropriate to each according to sex and age, and of not wearing the [liberty] cap and pantaloons and not carrying pike and pistol. Leave those to men who are born to protect you and make you happy. Wear clothing suitable to your morals and occupations; and always punish courageously, as you have just done, any crime when tends to disorganize society by changing sexes or indecently confusing them with anti-civic and perfidious intentions.[44]

On 27 Brumaire, when a deputation of women wearing red caps appeared at an assembly of the Paris Commune, Chaumette, speaking for the municipal legislators, condemned women dressed in this way as "denatured women" and "viragos": they abandoned household cares and the cribs of their children; more fundamentally, they dared transgress the barrier between the public and domestic spaces; finally, they were "impudent women who want[ed] to become men." Citing recent examples of the fate of politically active women—Roland, "who thought herself fit to govern the republic and who rushed to her downfall"; de Gouges, "who was the first to set up women's societies" and who left her household "to get mixed up in the republic and whose head fell beneath the avenging knife of the laws"—Chaumette demanded and secured a vote from the Commune to refuse hearings to deputations of women, except by special decree, while permitting them for *citoyennes* as individuals.[45]

From the outset of the Revolution, women of the popular classes were grouped by male authorities with the so-called passive male citizens. They participated as equals in revolutionary politics, sometimes along with men and sometimes in gender-specific groups, like the Dames des Halles or the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women. When men were subject to martial law, limits on petitions, and restrictions on organizations, so were women. It proved impossible to draw a sharp line between the public and domestic spheres and to confine women on the domestic side of that line. Furthermore, the authorities did not try very hard to do this, since they were accustomed to women's public activities traditionally taking place in the public spaces at times of political manifestations and ceremonies. Women could not hold processions in the rooms

where they did their spinning, nor verify the dauphin's birth, nor bear petitions as members of women's guilds without leaving their hearths. The presence of women functioning traditionally within public spaces made it categorically impossible to stop them from remaining there during the Revolution and to stop them from institutionalizing their activities in newly created revolutionary organizations like popular societies and section assemblies.

The attitudes of the police agents in the fall of 1793 show that there was a current of opinion just waiting to be tapped, a current reinforced by the ambivalence about women's moral and intellectual suitability for public affairs, a current powerful enough to drown the women's political movement. The charges against the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women were compounded of claims that they were counterrevolutionaries and that they had no business in public forums in the first place, since their natural place and their moral duties were in the home. Chaumette and the Jacobins accomplished in the fall of 1793 what Bailly, Mounier, Le Chapelier, and many others before them had been trying to do since the late summer of 1789. They outlawed the collective expression of demands by passive citizens, male and female, for public roles as a sovereign people of self-determining citizens.

They harnessed a power that had been gathering force during four revolutionary years, that had roots in the organic and communal politics of the Old Regime, and that had generated a rich variety of new institutional connections in the revolutionary press, clubs, and sections. The Jacobins' success in defeating the women becomes bitterly ironic when one recalls the many times male radicals had used women against their political enemies. Bailly and Lafayette mobilized women against the ministers in Versailles in the summer of 1789; the radical journalists, rerunning the women's march to Versailles, mythologized revolutionary heroines; the Jacobins used the Revolutionary Republican women to evict the Girondins from the Convention to solidify their own control over the national legislature. The Jacobins' success against the Revolutionary Republicans in the late fall of 1793 meant the triumph of the bourgeois revolution over the popular revolution and above all the end of women's serious involvement in political and public life.

Scorned or seduced, maligned or mythologized, condemned or congratulated, women in revolutionary Paris were seldom understood by historians for what they really were—the sovereign people, inventing with their feet, every bit as much as writers with their pens, the meaning and function of a new doctrine of legitimacy. There were two political nations in this France that appeared to have embraced the concept of popular sovereignty in 1789. The first, which ultimately triumphed, reserved active political influence for a new elite of merit, money, and talent, and restricted the passive citizens to an undifferentiated, supportive, silent emanation of abstractions. The second political nation of sovereign people incorporated female passive citizens along with male, whether by spontaneous *engagement*, exhortation, or passive tolerance. It was this merging of men and women of the popular classes that temporarily differentiated the situation of

women in France from their situation anywhere else in the eighteenth-century Western world during the age of democratic revolutions. Radical men and women allied whenever and wherever their ideologies and interests overlapped. When the Jacobins won full control of the revolutionary political machinery, these ideologies and interests became contradictory. Then women were legislated out of the political nation, with sex-based arguments thrown in to rationalize the application of a brutal power politics.

18. The Effects of the Chinese Revolution on Women and Their Families

Mariam Darce Frenier

The Chinese Communist Revolution and its attendant land reforms changed the relationship of women to their families in important ways. Between 1946 and 1952 leaders seized land and movable property from landlords, gentry, and propertied peasants, then redistributed the land and property to landless and poor peasant women and men. To carry out these operations, leaders gained the cooperation of many women and used feminist mobilization techniques that sometimes pitted the women against their husbands and fathers. But these changes gave women an independent economic base; the Communist party provided this opportunity and encouraged women to emancipate themselves from an oppressive social structure. Land was redistributed by and to women as well as men, and as land became an economic base for women, they were encouraged to emancipate themselves under the auspices of the Communist party.

The land reform followed China's war with Japan, 1936 to 1945, and coincided with renewed civil war between Chinese Communists and Nationalists. The civil war was both a scramble for territory and a fight for the allegiance of the Chinese people, women as well as men. Land redistribution was instrumental to the Communists in gaining that allegiance.

At the time of Japanese surrender, Communists were well established in the rural areas of northern China, having liberated 149 million people by the end of 1945, according to their claim.[1] With these people as their base, the Communists, first in North China and then in the northeast (Manchuria), launched their final attack on the Nationalists. In organizing these two areas, Communist propaganda and organizational and military techniques were particularly effective.[2] These techniques continue to be important in China today.

The major organizational technique is "the mass line," which involves face-to-face contact between cadres and peasants and results in consciousness raising. Cadres are functionaries who operate at the local level as leaders and models. This face-to-face contact ideally results in the gathering of information concerning the economic, political, and social needs of the peasantry. Once gathered, this information is supposed to form the basis of party policies. The mass line is summed up by the Chinese: "From the masses, to the masses."

During the land reform, application of the mass line to women as women, as well as to women as peasants, was heavily stressed. Chinese women showed a strong desire for economic independence, especially in the form of land owner-

ship. In addition, many of them felt a need for social changes in the areas of marriage and the family. Their major social concerns were divorce (women wanted the right to divorce), maltreatment of women (custom encouraged the beating, scolding, and underfeeding of women), and marriage (a few women wanted the right to choose their husbands freely rather than have these men chosen by their parents).

Women played an important part in all the Chinese Communist attempts at land reform.[3] During the period from 1946 to 1949, however, women played the most important part in villages where many of the men were at the war front and women were left to carry out the new policy.[4] Realizing women's crucial place, the party stressed the need for peasants, women and men, to rise up in order to change their society through land reform. The slogan of the movement was *fanshen*, meaning to stand up and overturn the oppressing classes. Prior to 1946 it was used infrequently and had no special meaning for women. After 1946 peasants were to *fanshen* and women were to *fanshen*. The movements were to be related, and at first women were not to separate from the peasant movement. However, in the course of land reform, as both a cause and an effect of the large numbers of women involved, women stood up not only to landlords but also to husbands and fathers.

Many Chinese Communists are aware that the emancipation of women is a deeply revolutionary move and, while doctrinally insisting that class struggle is primary, they have used such emancipation when swift and drastic change was deemed necessary. None of the Chinese documents states this; it would be bad Marxism to do so. But non-Marxists have observed a more or less conscious use of women's emancipation in China. In the words of one historian, Jack Belden:

> It should be obvious that any all-out attempt to free women could only result in the upheaval of the whole social pyramid and a tremendous change in the correlation of forces struggling for power. That is why the Communists fought so hard for equality of women and why the more feudal-minded moralists of the Kuomintang never lost an opportunity to inveigh against the Communist "destruction" of the Chinese family. In the first case, the freeing of women was a means of breaking the old power; in the second case, shackling women was a means of preserving the power.[5]

Belden related "Gold Flower's Story,"[6] his account of a young woman who was married against her will to an older man, and beaten and otherwise mistreated by her husband and father-in-law. It was a brutal story and from it Belden surmised: "There was a Gold Flower, more or less, beaten and bruised, saddened and scoured, in every farm in North China, she became a portent. The Communist Party saw her and schemed to serve her and themselves through her. She was that spirit that forgets nothing and forgives nothing. There she stood at her gate, slow-burning revenge incarnated, waiting a better time, wait-

ing an opportunity."[7] While Belden's statement is hyperbolic, many Communists believed that if the party offered women like Gold Flower a new life, it could expect their loyalty and service.

And their loyalty and service were deemed necessary, especially where men were in short supply. This shift to an emphasis on women's part in land reform was eased by the absence of men, which limited available sources of backlash and created a need for women to do what had traditionally been men's work. The party also used women in this movement because its leaders felt a need for rapid implementation of radical change. Radical change would move China closer to the Communist utopia, undermine tradition that placed family before state, and expand Communist power.

However, during the early part of the land reform, the party moved with caution and emphasized women's role in production. This was probably because an emphasis on their role in land reform was seen as likely to alienate too large a segment of the peasantry. Peasants, men and some women, had been alienated by earlier Communist attempts to alleviate women's social problems in their rural soviets, 1927–35, and the old liberated areas, 1935–46. Women serving the party, according to the earlier land reform documents, were encouraged to enter production, for example, industry, so that the industrial labor of women inside and outside the home would free men to become soldiers. Such work early in the period was not touted as a way to free women, as women, from family oppression. In 1947 Deng Ing-chau[8] put it this way: "Women's work in the future will manifest a new aspect. By including women in the broad laboring masses, all people will be liberated from feudal restraints; moreover there will be enough force to demolish speedily Chiang's bandit army . . . to overturn thoroughly the Nationalist's reactionary control, and to strive for the thorough victory of the new democratic revolution in all China."[9] As was often stated, "In the struggle against the Nationalists we must depend on the People's Liberation Army and the people. And one-half the people are women."[10] This was reiterated in the Central Committee's "Decision regarding peasant women's work in the presently Liberated Areas" on 20 December 1948: "Now that Japan is defeated, we must defeat the Nationalists and the women too are needed to do this."[11] While men were freed to join the Communist armies, the women were to take their places on the land and in industry.

Although production was emphasized less than land reform during the entire period, it was always seen as essential to the achievement of Communist goals. Following the theory of Friedrich Engels,[12] it was also seen as a basis for change in women's status. But the Chinese Communists during this period disagreed with Engel's emphasis that a place in production is the sole basis of women's emancipation and saw production as only one of the bases of women's status change. The Central Committee believed that "to get real protection of women's rights, women must have the same portion of land and property as men and . . . a thorough knowledge of the essential importance of labor, and they must see

labor as glorious work, moveover they must actively participate in manual labor with equal duties in each kind of productive work in order to become, in the family and society, creators of wealth." Women's economic independence from others, again, would "raise and solidify" women's familial, societal, and political position; "only then will there be sex equality and will the laws guaranteeing such equality truly be implemented."[13]

The stress on women's place in the redistribution of land coincided with renewed party calls for the emancipation of women. Mobilization of women for this more radical form of economic change required feminist techniques, which emphasized changes in the relationship between the sexes. This kind of change was to be fully implemented by stressing free marriage (the right to choose one's spouse) and free divorce (the right of women to divorce men as well as vice versa), cessation of the mistreatment of women, and solidarity among women. Such feminist emphasis was necessary in order to induce enough women to participate in the movement to take land from some peasants and redistribute it to others.

These feminist techniques of mobilization were used at a time when problems of mobilization existed in areas newly liberated by the Communists and the urban areas.[14] The old liberated areas, liberated during the war against Japan, were to lead the new ones and to act as their models since the old areas supposedly had already experienced women's emancipation. But mobilization of women in the new areas was difficult. A women's movement document noted: "If we first mobilize the peasants and later mobilize the women, women will be backward; this backwardness may obstruct the peasants. If first we mobilize the women, they will break through and . . . arouse opposition and establish isolationism."[15] All women needed to be mobilized, although women of different ages had different strengths. The young women were easiest to mobilize and could become the vanguard; the adult women "always maintain dignity and are good at [coming up with] ideas . . . the old women have suffered much bitterness, have profound experience, and usually become the people who take the lead in the speak bitterness movement. . . . 'Men and women, young, adult, and old—together *fanshen*.'"[16]

Women were seen as more difficult to mobilize than men, first because of the biological differences, especially the difficulties of pregnancy, the "pains of childbirth," and postpartum recovery. Second, women had "contempt for liberation" because they were content to depend on men, an attitude fostered by a feudal social structure. Communist leaders thought education in the equality of the sexes would change this. Third, some women did not believe in "the strength of their own struggle or recognize their own poor destiny." To overcome this lack of consciousness, leaders tried "to turn over [their] heart[s]," so that they could "speak bitterness." Fourth, men also acted as barriers to the mobilization of women; from feudal habit they left the women of their families out of many

decisions, particularly those involving public action. Furthermore, men laughed at women, and women feared their laughter. "To destroy this method of thought, mainly it is among men peasants that education must progress." Last, women not only had to *fanshen*, throw off the old restrictive ways, they also had to unite. Cadres were believed essential in helping women both to throw off the old and to unify.[17]

Thus the difficulties of mobilizing women could be overcome through the education of men, women's own *fanshen* along with that of the men, and cadre leadership. The first basic technique of *fanshen* was "speak bitterness," in which women would talk of the evils they had suffered: beatings, curses, hunger. The second involved "struggle meetings" against landlords, reluctant peasants, and male relatives.

Although the men and women were to throw off the old at the same time, there seemed to be special importance in women's turn from the restrictive past. Quoting a women's movement pamphlet: "Because of the deep suffering of women in each kind of cruelty and feudal oppression, the first need is to *fanshen*; the movement's enthusiasm must not be weakened by men. Chiaotung has 500,000 women participating in the land reform struggle dividing 500,000 mou. The women of Yu-nan and Chao-po hsien rose up: 'Men support the front line, women actively divide the land.'"[18] This pointed to women's new importance. It also implied that some of the insistence that men and women *fanshen* at the same time may have gone by the board. There are many indications that women were sometimes more active in land reform than men. In fact, in some places women outnumbered men. Deng Ing-chau wrote that in some areas, sex ratios were fourteen women to one man.[19] The implications for the relationships between the sexes were profound. Women actively seized an economic base—land—and were ready mentally as well as economically to change their family and social positions.

Officially mobilization of women included women of all classes,[20] for all were oppressed by the old system. *Modern woman*, a Communist journal, noted:

> Feudal society was one in which landlords exploited peasants. . . . Chinese people ate much bitterness; women experienced even more serious difficulties than men. First look at the peasant women: high rent, heavy interest, excessive taxes and levies. They ate poor food.
>
> . . . Furthermore, looking at women in the landlord's families, although they lived in a feudal, well-to-do family, they nevertheless suffered the feudal forces of oppression. For example, the four virtues, the three obediences and "a woman follows her husband no matter what his lot." They were caused to become like animals and were beaten. There could be "three wives, four concubines," "five houses, six yards."[21] . . . The peasants are the friends of women's liberation. . . .
>
> The women of landlord families also receive their demands amidst the peasant movement. . . . Now the question is how women can participate in

the peasant struggle and what other needs women have. The classes of women are not alike in their needs. But the newly Liberated Areas know sisterhood![22]

Fanshen did not stop with acquisition of land and struggle meetings; according to *The Women's fanshen movement in China's Liberated Areas*, a women's movement document, it also included "raising the cultural, political, and theoretical" level of women. This was to be implemented through day-care centers, "collective eating collectively administered," free schools for children, and women's education.[23] Some progress was made in some of these areas, but collective eating and free schools were not attempted until much later.

These techniques of mobilization were notably more feminist than techniques used during the previous period in the old liberated areas. Speak bitterness, for example, led to, and was meant to lead to, complaints centering on family maltreatment of women. Thus, during this period women's emotions were observed and used. As land reform spread after 1949, speak bitterness was augmented by attempts to implement the 1950 marriage law, which established sex equality, free marriage, and free divorce for all China. Such feminist mobilization was effective in drawing many women to the Communist cause.

Once mobilized, the party felt women should be organized and should work. Cadres were central to organizing and mobilizing women. They were admonished to realize the importance of women's work. "Attention to women's work has been on-again-off-again and must be taken more seriously by the party ranks," said the 1948 Central Committee's "Decision."[24] Elsewhere the Central Committee decreed that its role in peasant women's work should be expanded.[25] Such expansion meant use of the mass line and the need for more cadres "to really strengthen women's organizations. . . . Both sexes should implement this policy."[26] But, as a women's movement document put it, "Each woman comrade must recognize service to the masses of women as her own glorious obligation."[27] Men were called too, but women were the chosen ones.

However, both women and men held a low opinion of work aimed at mobilizing women. As late as 1949, according to one document, cadres, because of their low opinion of women's work, hastened women through meetings, hurriedly collected fees, and in the process fatigued the women and ignored their special problems.[28]

More numerous and more dedicated cadres were needed. It was hoped that intellectual and student women would become some of those cadres as they "ought to be a bridge" between the laboring women and the party.[29] Such cadres came from outside the villages to organize peasant women in associations. According to *The Women's fanshen movement in China's Liberated Areas*, many of the outside cadres had arrived long ago, in 1939, when "they observed the principle, 'for serving the worker and peasant masses, we unite with the worker and peasant masses.'" Although from sophisticated cities, the urban cadres reportedly lived the lives of peasant women and were not discouraged by the hardships they shared with them: "Cadres mastered spinning, gathered the

harvest, healed the sick . . . and went to help the women solve their difficulties. They helped them work and coaxed their children, in this way . . . gradually getting close to and earning the trust of peasant women."[30] The cadres were thus to learn from the masses by going to the masses.

In addition to urban intellectuals, cadres from the old liberated areas went to newly liberated areas to aid in organizing women.[31] Women cadres with rural experience in the old liberated areas also aided urban women as the party took over the cities.[32] But documents from both the period of the old liberated areas and the land reform period were silent as to how outsiders actually organized village women. Individual accounts such as that of Hsu Kuang[33] indicate that these cadres adopted the dress and food of the local people and attempted to win the confidence of local women by aiding them in their daily tasks. Beyond this, the only accounts of such organization are those of non-Chinese observers.

"Gold Flower's Story" included the arrival of an outsider. In August 1948, the Eighth Route Army entered Gold Flower's village, Lichiachuang, in central Hopei. A week later a cadre came and called a meeting announcing that he represented the Eighth Route Army; "he declared: 'The people and the Eighth Route Army belong to the same family.' Gold Flower who heard these words said to herself: 'That is impossible; you are not even from our village and so how can you be from our family?'" The cadre, declaring women's equal rights, then called the women together to organize a women's association; further, "he begged all those women who had suffered most to come and meet secretly with him."[34] The words of the cadre excited Gold Flower, but she did not join the association or attend any secret meetings until a local cadre, a woman, convinced her. This must have been a typical reaction, and of course was reason enough for Deng Ing-chau and others to stress the need for female cadres who would sew, cook, and help with the children until the village women came to trust them.

An outsider, a woman, held the first meeting attended by Gold Flower. She was an experienced speaker: "Her voice sounded like a trumpet to Gold Flower." But the local cadre, Dark Jade, chaired the meeting. She spoke when the stranger finished. "Her talk was burdened with clumsy, involved phrases, for she had never made a speech before. But the women listened to her with a great deal of sympathy as she was from their own village and was one of them."[35]

Thus, local, familiar activists were essential. The most important cadres were those who were "active women elements," who would "bubble up" from the ranks of the rural masses. As Deng Ing-chau expressed it: "The hired poor rural women are to be the backbone of the land reform. . . . We have to pay special attention to the training and promotion of female active elements so that they will participate in each kind of leadership work."[36] It is unfortunate that Belden did not write of the recruitment of Dark Jade. Nor are the Communist materials particularly helpful on the subject of recruiting the first village activists; one women's movement piece said: "Because women made great contributions in all aspects of the production of the Resistance War, there bubbled

up many active elements, model personages, continuously elected by the people to each rank of the association."[37] These women "bubbled up" in the process of productive labor. But the question of how the first local activists were mobilized before the village women in general were motivated remains unanswered.

Cadres, outsider and local, were considered essential to organizing women, but it was considered necessary by the women's movement that organizations be different in newly liberated areas from those in old liberated areas. In the old areas women were originally organized in the Poor Peasant Groups and the New Peasant Societies. With land reform, an "independent women's representative association" was formed "to satisfy women's special need." In the new areas, "and in all backward semi-old areas, because women [were] comparatively difficult to mobilize and had no previous part in society's activities," several organizations were established. Some, such as the Poor Peasant Groups and New Peasant Societies (in which women representatives occupied a set proportion), included both men and women. Women's independent organizations were also established, such as the Women's Representative Associations, also referred to as the Women's Associations. "The women could then remain united with men in the one type of organization and still summon their own independent representative group and their small groups to discuss research." In the separate groups, women could strengthen their education and through them their participation in the activities of society.[38]

There were women's associations before 1947; however, those associations were to mobilize women for production but not to discuss their special problems. In 1947 new women's organizations were formed for both purposes, although officially discussion of women's problems, the more feminist purpose, was subordinated to the "main task" of peasant revolution. Hsu Kuang stated that:

> two views arose concerning women's emancipation. As the situation developed, some women's problems, such as the question of marriage, women, and child care, were in urgent need of solution. In Chiachia village a number of women said to me, "Let the Peasants' Association work on the land reform; the women's federation should concentrate on women's problems." Through discussion, we in the federation came to the agreement that while we must, of course, solve the particular problems of women—otherwise we would be divorcing ourselves from the masses and neglecting our duty—at the same time the most important of our duties was to carry out the main task of the revolution. The feudal landlord class oppressed men and women alike. Without overthrowing the landlords the working women could not really stand up either politically or economically.[39]

A Communist women's movement document, dated spring 1947, explained the necessity for organizing the women separately from the men. When the men and women were organized together, "a few female active elements bravely made speeches but the majority of the women were not making speeches; furthermore quite a few women rose up and demanded independence from male discrimina-

tion. Some said: 'When together with men, our speaking isn't natural.' Others said: 'When talking together with men, many women should talk, yet few do.'"[40] An experiment, reported in 1948, was attempted in three *chiu* in Hunan[41]: independent women's organizations were established. "After the experience of independently arousing the women . . . [they] began to be as active as men. . . . During land reform they were actively represented, . . . spoke very bravely, and all dared to talk."[42]

The official documents, those of the Central Committee and important party representatives, did not mention specifics of organizing women during land reform. They did not mention how large these organizations were, how inclusive, how often they met, what issues they discussed, or how they pressured families in women's behalf. Presumably this was deliberate, as local situations and needs were to dictate these specifics.

The party, however, published individual accounts relating some of these details for specific places. For example, a women's movement document reported that when some young women of Lin-cheng, a Beiguan village of Dingshian in Hebei, organized, their older female relatives disapproved and treated one of them badly—she was referred to as "Big Ugly." The young women held a meeting in which they discussed the problem of ill-treatment by grandmothers and mothers-in-law. The meeting continued on a second day during which Big Ugly was urged to increase her production and report any further maltreatment to this Women's United Society. Here the tale ends—one hopes because with economic independence and group backing Big Ugly's problems were solved. At another meeting the problem of contract marriage was discussed and the meeting ended with the decision to "propagandize liberation," that is, to point out to others that free marriage was a part of liberation. These women also discussed inequality in marriage and its ill effects: "If husbands and wives are not equal, production is not energetic, life is not pleasant," they concluded.[43]

These accounts specified what kinds of women's issues were discussed; they indicated that for a particular case, such as Big Ugly's, meetings could be held for more than one day. They implied that group pressure was used on recalcitrant family members, but did not say what kind of pressure. Beyond that, they did not mention how many women were involved or whether the meetings were always ad hoc. The document advocated the small group as the best organizational form, a small group presumably made up of nine to fifteen women. These small groups were formed after large groups, called congresses, assembled all the peasants together to oppose the Nationalist "tyrants" and to become involved in land reform. Once the masses understood the concept of representation as a result of these congresses, the masses were to elect representatives and convene a peasant representatives' meeting, a "certain proportion" of which was made up of women representatives. The women representatives were then to "go out and summon the Women's Representative Associations."[44]

While the details are fuzzy, two important aspects emerge from the documents. During land reform, in especial contrast to the period of the old liberated

areas, women were organized both separately and with men, and women's organizations discussed and acted upon feminist as well as peasant concerns. Once organized, the Women's Associations could back up their individual members in family conflicts. Gold Flower's situation was typical: although her husband was away, her father-in-law continued to abuse her. Finally she told her association of her troubles.

Within a few days, four women called on Gold Flower's father-in-law.

> "Our investigation department has found out that you are treating your daughter-in-law badly," said Dark Jade.
>
> The old man's jaws dropped open. He could not believe what he had heard. Recovering from his first astonishment, he burst out angrily, "Don't interfere with my family. I can do what I want with my daughter-in-law."
>
> For a moment, the women cadres were nonplussed. Then Dark Jade spoke firmly. "We have been polite with you. We are doing this for your own welfare. We are trying to unite your family and make it happy."
>
> Gold Flower's father-in-law jumped up excitedly. "Go away! Get out!" he shouted, gesturing with his arms.
>
> One girl came back with fifteen more women. They were all carrying clubs and ropes.[45]

The women bound the father-in-law's arms and took him away to hold him prisoner for two days. The third day all the women of the village were called together to deal with his case; they had never all come together before. The outsider cadre spoke to the assembled women, arousing them to oppose Chiang Kai-shek and the American reactionaries and to build a new society "here in the villages. . . . And any man, any husband, any father-in-law who opposes us we shall beat to the ground and treat without mercy."[46]

Then Dark Jade rose—the local cadre getting special attention from the assembled women. The father-in-law was called in and Dark Jade said: "'Old man! Be frank. Tell your bad treatment.'" When he refused, Gold Flower became so angered she spoke out against him for the first time. "'I married into your family—yes. . . . But there's been no millet for me to eat. No clothes in the winter. . . . Have you forgotten the time my mother was sick and you made me kneel in the courtyard for half a day?'" The crowd of women began groaning and shouting in sympathy. One woman crowded close.

> "Let us spit in his face," said the fat girl. She draw back her lips over her gums and spat between the old man's eyes. Others darted in, spat in his face, and darted away again. The roar of voices grew louder. The old man remained standing with his face red and his beard matted with saliva. His knees were trembling. . . .
>
> "Are you ready to reform yourself?"
>
> "I will change," the old man's voice was low and subdued.
>
> "Will you torture your daughter any more?"

"No."

"All women unite." . . .

"Women unite," echoed the crowd. . . .

Now that Gold Flower's father-in-law had confessed his "sins" the meeting was over. But first someone was sent for as a guarantor who stood up before all the women and promised:

"If Old Man Chang treats his daughter-in-law badly again I shall bring him to you."[47]

In a patriarchal culture that stressed the concept of face, such treatment would break the spirit of almost anyone—at least temporarily. But the guarantor and the changed situation were to assure that the change would become permanent. Once home the father-in-law was assured by the cautious Gold Flower that this "was not my doing." But then she added: "'There are sister groups in the village which investigate the bad treatment of women. . . . They know everything.' He looked at his daughter-in-law in fright. Gold Flower smiled to herself."[48]

It is impossible to tell how many villages witnessed such a scene. The foreign accounts of Belden and of William Hinton in *Fanshen* include examples. The Chinese documents make allusions to struggle meetings, but I have not found in them a detailed account such as "Gold Flower's Story." My impression is that Belden's account was accurate, but that struggle meetings against men had not become an integral part of party didactic literature. Since the party did not consistently press feminist issues, perhaps it considered such accounts too inflammatory.

There were examples in party literature of women incited to beat people who refused to participate in work. In a chapter entitled "The Work Direction of Women Representative, Uei Jing-lian," is this statement: "Women were organized to participate in ploughing. But Heng Ie refused to participate and some of the masses wanted to beat her. Uei Jing-lian felt a report should be made concerning the problem and that the desire to beat her showed that the masses' consciousness still wasn't sufficiently raised. In the end the women did beat Heng Ie, but then discussion of the beating was used to raise their consciousness through subsequent mutual criticism and changes in work attitudes and work methods."[49]

There was a Communist example of the kind of morale building that the local Women's Association could perform. "Li Shi-iun's Divorce Case"[50] was the story of an eighteen-year-old woman, from Hugei of Dai-shing chiu, Lin-jen, Bei-guan, who married a village cadre in the late 1940s. Not long after the marriage he got involved with another woman, which caused Li Shi-iun to flee home to her parents. The people of her husband's village, Bei-guan, asked her to return to his home, but her own village Women's Association knew he had mistreated her. Soon her husband came and insisted she return; she refused, fearing he would beat her to death. Although the women of her village backed

her when she asked her husband, "Why are you so cruel?" her husband didn't "recognize his cruelty."

Li Shi-iun came to feel that if such appeals to "sexual equality" would not work, her increasing capabilities in spinning and weaving would raise her status. The women agreed and advised her to return to her husband. But then, even with her new productive abilities, her husband continued to treat her with disdain. The women then came to advise her, explaining sex equality and free divorce. Their final advice was to "divorce him in order to seek happiness." Li Shi-iun returned to her father's home, and there became a labor heroine. The story ended happily: "Before long, she and a young farmer who had experienced *fanshen* married and established a new family; their life was especially happy."[51]

Thus the land reform era, unlike the period of the liberated areas, was a time of direct attempts to change family life. The agents of this change were separate women's organizations that encouraged women to speak of their personal grievances, then to combine in order to alter their family situations. Once aroused and given hope of better lives, they were also to participate directly in a redistribution of land that would give women the basis of economic independence most respected in their preindustrial society. Their participation would also benefit the Communist regime, which guided their mobilization and organization for land reform.

The questions arise: how important were women in the land reform? and what did women gain from it? While textbook accounts of the late 1940s never refer to the special part women played in the land reform movement,[52] students of Chinese women find that women were vital and that land reform resulted in advances in their status. It is interesting that the Nationalists also stressed the importance of women in Communist land reform. For example, Tzeng Iue said of the early 1950s: "During the 'land reform' the bandit party used more women as the backbone, that is, as the group to unite peasant women to beat and attack rich peasants."[53]

M. J. Meijer put the motivation for women's participation this way: "If the economic and political power of the landlords were broken, clan authority, spiritual authority, and the authority of the husband would be terminated as well."[54] He added:

> Tensions within the family were aggravated [during the land reform] by the continuous propaganda for the emancipation for women disseminated by the Women's Associations, which never ceased to try to make the women politically conscious, recruited activists among them and encouraged them to take part in "social" activities. Apart from the ideas instilled into the wives which might not harmonize with those of their husbands, social activities involved social contacts with other men, a situation which many husbands found difficult to accept.[55]

Meijer thus wrote of the propaganda without addressing himself to women's

participation in land reform, the reason for that propaganda. Anna Louise Strong found that the land reform led to a change in women's status through their active participation. Women entered public life by joining Women's Associations, taking part in production drives, voting, and being elected.[56] She, too, did not address herself to actual participation in land distribution. On the other hand, Delia Davin finds: "Mass meetings to determine the division of land, the disposal of confiscated landlord property and the treatment that the individual landlords should receive were an important part of land reform. Women took an active part in all of them. In some villages where all the able-bodied men were away in the army, women were even the main force in land reform."[57]

Davin's view of the importance of women's participation was also the view of the Nationalists. Tzeng Iue's pamphlet, *The Women's movement of the Communist bandits*, noted the importance of women in *luan*,[58] spreading revolt, and productive labor. Women, he found, were directly included in land reform.[59] His pamphlet later pointed out that "in the rural areas many women work outside the home even to the point of equal participation with men." And he added a note not found in Communist documents: "But the family income is in male hands. Women participate in all kinds of farm production but are oppressed."[60] He went on to say that women were expected by the Communists to participate in "resist rent and debt struggles" and in land reform in which "peasant women participated in the struggle, the land reform, and the riots."[61]

The women's movement indicated that women actively participated in all aspects of land reform. That participation varied of course from village to village because each village had different customs, attitudes, and ratios of men to women. Deng Ing-chau wrote in 1947 that the landless and small peasant women obtained land and the tools of production during land reform and thereby raised their status. This writer also stressed the extent of women's participation in, and their importance to, the reform movement:

> Because of this they economically and politically *fanshened*, especially the great force of the laboring women who in this movement were even more obviously represented than in previous movements. . . . The women participated in each counterfeudal struggle of the land reform movement, in the front line of production, in support and aid of the front line, and they bore responsibility behind the line in active service work, so as to perform—in the place of village men—each kind of work such as sentry duty. . . . During the struggle with landlords, the women usually inspected the landlords' movable property . . . and were careful to smash completely the landlords' counterrevolutionary plots. . . . Men at the front beat Chiang's bandits; the women at the back divided the land and became the main force of production. They were impossible to overlook as an active force. . . . Truly it was a whole movement of women, not just a few women who were actively organized. In fact if the participation of the masses of women in land reform is not developed, then it isn't possible to eradicate feudal remnants thoroughly and completely.[62]

One village example should be cited, Nan-he-juang village in Wu-an-ba province. During the civil war period this village of three hundred people had only twenty-six men capable of full-time labor, twenty-three of half-time; fifty-three households were without any capable male laborers. Accordingly, "the women and children vigorously and bravely participated in the reform of mutual aid"[63] as land reform came to the village. The story of Nan-he-juang ends with the statement: "The women experienced today's discipline; whereas before they had been supported by others, now women could take an independent part in all aspects of life."[64]

Deng Ing-chau pointed out that women everywhere should be mobilized to participate in land reform. Women's work and the land reform should be united so that "the two may mutually progress, mutually benefit."[65] Many young men were at the military front, so on the economic battle line women had an opportunity to gain status. According to a later account: "In the land reform the women took the lead in many ways. For example, at a struggle meeting against the landlords in Jaujia village, Jau Shiou-e, supporting her mother-in-law at her side, was the first to stand up and accuse the landlord of his cruel exploitations."[66]

According to the documents, the women united with the peasant movement to participate in the land reform. The women did participate as peasants and with male peasants. But several documents obliquely suggest that it also was necessary for women to participate in land redistribution as women in order to assure their receipt of an equal share. For example, Deng Ing-chau wrote: "Among peasants and the masses of women the land reform movement should be even more widespread . . . in order to genuinely distribute the land to women and men equally."[67] And the Central Committee specifically referred to "safeguarding women's land rights."[68]

It was obvious why peasant women wanted land; it is also obvious from the materials that they did want it. As Hinton put it: "The right to own land and property in their own name was the key to the liberation of women, according to all the cadres who reported. On many other questions the women were divided. . . . On one issue they all agree, however. Women should be able to get and keep a share in the land."[69] Possessions—land, house, furniture—meant power. As one woman in Long Bow said, "Always before when we quarrelled my husband said, 'Get out of my house.' Now I can give it right back to him. I can say, 'Get out of my house yourself.'"[70]

In many cases land even meant a name. Hsu Kuang said: "To emphasize the fact that women had economic equality with the men we gave each woman a land certificate in her own name or wrote her name alongside her husband's on one certificate. Before, women had always been referred to by others as 'so-and-so's wife' or 'so-and-so's mother.' Now for the first time in their lives many women heard their own names spoken in public."[71] The public acquisition of a personal name meant public identity. And as holders of land this new individuality was materially based.

Hsu Kuang's statement is important for another reason: it is evidence that women were given land deeds of their own or jointly with their husbands. The 1948 Central Committee decision guaranteed women's rights to the land and said that notations had to be made on family deeds indicating that men and women had equal land rights.[72] With deed in hand a woman was economically independent of her husband and divorce was more feasible.

Land redistribution was not the sole economic end of women's participation in the campaign. Land reform and the acquisition of land were seen as means of mobilizing more women to work in production as well as of producing a more just society. The work consisted of ploughing, milking cows, making shoes, and other textile jobs. And, in this time of civil war, militia work similar to that performed in the rural soviets from 1927 to 1933 was mentioned: "Continually women carried bullets. . . . Other women stopped at village hospitals, washing clothes, sewing, and comforting the wounded; such was often their business."[73]

The Central Committee said that land acquisition was accompanied by political elevation. Many women in areas that had experienced land reform were elected as village heads and vice-heads. Women's status rose "in politics, economics, family, and social position." Moreover, following land reform, election to office, and raising of consciousness, there was "a basic change, opening up the path of complete women's liberation."[74] As in the rural soviets, the base of emancipation was seen as revolutionary action, that is, politics rather than economics: political action had to precede economic change. The political action was seizing the land; the new ownership of land, of course, constituted economic change.

A 1948 Central Committee document said:

> In the land reform movement, each liberated area aroused the broad masses of women to participate actively in the equal distribution of land and the struggle to wipe out feudalism. . . . All men and women, old and young, got the same land portion. There were men and women area deputies, even some women elected village heads and vice-heads and village cadres; their degree of consciousness and activeness progressed greatly. Following the land reform, women's position in politics, economics, family, and society was basically changed, opening up the path to complete women's liberation.[75]

Here the party probably overstated the "greatness," the quantity of change, but all indications point to the beginning of a qualitative difference in the status of women. While only some elected village heads, vice-heads, and cadres were women, the entrance of any women into political positions constituted a thorough break with Chinese traditions.

There were other specific social problems that were not solved during the land reform. The problem of widow remarriage, taboo in some parts of China,[76] remained unsolved in Long Bow, for example. The laws encouraged remarriage; the village did not.[77] It is only since 1949 that widow remarriage has been tackled in informal party publications. In addition, Chinese women were tradi-

tionally socialized to feel inferior as individuals and as a group. The problem of bad self-image during the land reform had been experienced on many previous occasions. William Hinton wrote of a hard-working young woman, An-feng, who said, "'Women are no use. Since the men are not active, how can the women do anything? No one pays any attention to women's words.' 'If that were so, how is it that you have been elected so often to various posts?' asked Ch'i Yun. 'Oh, that's because I am not afraid to speak in public.'"[78] This was one of the most difficult problems accompanying attempts to emancipate women. Persistent propaganda since 1949 has intended to alter women's negative views of themselves.

Thus, not all problems had been solved. As we have seen, many women participated in the land reform campaigns, and their participation was considered important by the party. Furthermore, for women land reform meant ownership of a piece of land, and an accompanying rise in status. In practical terms this meant that women who owned land could no longer be completely ignored either by their society or by the men in their lives. Yet while much progress was made—the kind of progress that came from direct participation in revolution—traditional forces continued, the most important of these being the continuation of the traditional patrilocal family. According to custom most Chinese brides left their natal homes and communities to live with their husband's parents. This custom continued even after land reform and land distribution to women. In order to avoid marrying into their own surname group, women continued to marry men from other places and move into their husband's villages. As a result they were not always able to make use of land allotted to them before marriage and would lease their share to a male member of their natal family.[79]

Difficult, unequal relationships between the sexes—particularly in marriage—were less important to Communists than industrial and agricultural production during the period of the old liberated areas. In contrast, during the land reform of the late 1940s, the frustrations resulting from marital relationships were used to arouse women and to gain their participation in change. In "Regarding the Task of Peasant Women in the Presently Liberated Areas," written in December 1948, the Central Committee noted that while legal equality was declared, the law was not completely carried out in actuality and

> in the old society the particular problem was women's economic dependence on men; therefore, truly to obtain women's rights there must be progress in women's work. However, it isn't enough for women merely to have equal economic rights; women must also have equal part in land distribution and the distribution of movable wealth. And women especially must understand the importance of labor and come to see it as glorious. If they take part in the family's and society's wealth then the women will gain respect from [their] husbands and mothers-in-law and a firm and high position in politics and society and the law will have come to have a thorough actuality.[80]

In "The Great fanshen of the women of Ding shian," Liu Chih wrote of Hebei that "the women participate equally with the men in the struggle against class enemies and for land reform using slogans: 'men produce, women divide the land,' 'men support the front, women divide the land.'" This raised women's family and social positions as well as their self-confidence. Now "the men dared not casually say 'You constantly eat my food, therefore I lose money. Perhaps you create disturbances and are not true, then be off.'"[81] The result of women's acquisition of land, Liou Jy found, was more freedom in marriage and the decline of marriages "managed" by men.[82]

Thus, during the land reform, land ownership and economic independence were considered necessary to the attainment of free marriage and divorce. Deng Ing-chau wrote: "In the development of the active participation of the masses of women in the land reform, production and the democratic movement of all the masses, there must be attention paid to women's gradual solving of their own problems, especially coercing them to undertake marriage."[83] The theoretical effect of land reform on marriage was reiterated in "Freedom of Marriage: Each Person a Lover," by Luo Mian-jie. "The land reform came and thoroughly changed the feudal land system and the people came to oppose purchase marriage."[84] Purchase marriage was seen as allowing rich men to buy numerous wives and keeping poor men bachelors. "Purchase marriages mean women do not hold positions of people who can be looked up to, [and when] husbands and wives are unequal, production isn't energetic, life doesn't pass well."[85]

Purchase marriage was evil; free marriage, the alternative, was based on love at its best (according to theory) and was attractive to many. But Hinton wrote of the problems of a woman who married for love:

> [Li Hsin-ai was an] unusual young woman who had defied convention and threats of death to marry the man she loved. In Long Bow men made fun of Li Hsin-ai. The middle peasant, Chin-hung, a former puppet soldier[86] himself, was fond of telling the story of her "rascal affair" to anyone who would listen. Then he laughed as if it would kill him. Young women took a different attitude. None of them said it aloud, but in their hearts they admired and even envied the girl for her courage. The older women, on the other hand, tended to side with the men. It was their veto that blocked Li Hsin-ai from membership in the Provisional Poor Peasants' League. . . .
>
> [Li Hsin-ai] vacillated between pride in her soldier husband and pity for herself, a mother still in her teens, left behind in a community that mocked her, in a home where she had no family or childhood friends.[87]

Thus, while the ideal appealed to some women, the reality was often difficult to achieve for those who actually tried it. The passage also points to the different attitudes of young women, older women, and men. Men remained shocked by freedom of marriage.

The freedom to marry a person of one's choice was nevertheless offered as inducement for women to join Women's Associations, which were supposed to

offer unity and support. The idea that women could initiate a divorce, however, was an even more powerful motivator. Belden noted a connection between unhappy marriages and revolutionaries: "As a matter of fact, unhappy marriages, I found, were one of the big reasons why both men and women joined not only the army, but the whole revolution."[88] It was apparent, for example, in Gold Flower's case that the desire to get away from her husband and her father-in-law was strong before land reform. With land reform it became possible for Gold Flower to act upon that desire as she realized that she could divorce her husband. Land made divorce economically possible. Furthermore, before land reform villagers had no knowledge of Communist laws that allowed women to divorce; information about this alternative was conveyed while urging women to participate in land reform.

Divorce or the possibility of divorce was an important factor in *fanshen*, standing up. For example, an article in *Modern woman*, "Explanation of several questions concerning the marriage regulations of Jin-Ji-Chia,"[89] stated as early as 1946 that women often were motivated to *fanshen* in order to obtain free divorce.[90] While there is remarkably little information in the Chinese documents on divorce as directly connected with *fanshen*, the divorce rates following the implementation of the marriage laws in newly liberated areas and the 1950 marriage law in all China imply that it was indeed popular.

Implementation of the marriage law and economic independence resulted in a status rise for women within both the family and society. However, many men still felt that women were generally inferior. For example: "That there were women members of the party had to be stated again and again. Women did not find this strange, but men shook their heads and said, 'Ah.' They obviously did not believe that women could lead anyone to *fanshen*."[91] Such traditional attitudes had allowed the physical and psychological abuse of women. Men perceived women other than their mothers as beings of a lower order. This perception allowed men to beat, underfeed, and generally mistreat women; and of course it led to devaluation of the potentials as well as the actual contributions of women.

Within the family a second problem often occurred: mothers-in-law beat their daughters-in-law. Some analysts interpret the problem as one of the mothers-in-law believing "it was done to me, it therefore should be done to you." I believe that another motive was more important. Because traditionally husband-wife relationships were arranged, mothers often felt that their affection for their sons was the most important emotion in the sons' lives. Sons often reciprocated by feeling that their mothers' love was the purest love. Furthermore, sons meant both status and old-age insurance for their mothers. When a new woman, the daughter-in-law, entered, the mother often felt partially estranged from the most important man in her life. The result was frequently jealousy and mistreatment of the interloper.

It is impossible to prove through either statistics or analysis of the heroine tales and other informal documentation, but my impression is that the land

reform reduced the likelihood of women's ill-treatment. The rise in economic status and the new independence of young women made beatings and cursings less likely. In addition, united women put pressure on relatives who harmed anyone in their groups, as shown in Gold Flower's story. Another example comes from Hinton's *Fanshen*: "The Women's Association created a domestic crisis in many a family. Not only did the husbands object to their wives going out; the mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law objected even more strenuously. Many young wives who nevertheless insisted on going to meetings were badly beaten up when they got home." When confronted by the Women's Association, one man said that "he beat his wife because she went to meetings and 'the only reason women go to meetings is to gain a free hand for flirtation and seduction.'" But a great change had occurred in the village of Long Bow; his wife was no longer alone and defenseless. "This remark aroused a furious protest from the women assembled before him. Words soon led to deeds. They rushed at him from all sides, knocked him down, kicked him, tore his clothes, scratched his face, pulled his hair and pummelled him until he could no longer breathe."[92] He then agreed never to beat his wife again.

Given such examples, Hinton contended that, in spite of the difficulties women encountered and the conservative attitudes of the men concerning women's abilities, "land reform had broken the patriarchal rigidity of the family by granting property rights to women. With property of their own they were able to struggle effectively for equal rights. But there was still a great gap between the potential equality and the actual degree of equality women enjoyed."[93] If we define as "patriarchal" families in which husbands have the customary right to beat and berate their wives and to restrain them from attending meetings, then Hinton has fairly assessed the effects of the land reform—it was the crucial step toward equal rights within the family, although that goal was not reached by 1949.

While Hinton implied that land redistribution was essential to the change in women's status, the party insisted during the period of the liberated areas and the subsequent land reform period that Engels was right and that production was the cause of change. In *The Women's fanshen movement in China's Liberated Areas* published in 1947, the official word still hearkened back to the experience of the liberated areas to find that production raised women's position in the family; as women brought money in, "the husband's parents' beatings and the husband's beatings and scolding naturally were few."[94] Belden noted an example of this too: Chan Shu-ying of Gold Flower's village "learned to weave cloth, then to make shoes and finally almost everything needed by her family in the home. As a result, her mother-in-law began to treat her better, having a hot meal ready when the girl came back from her women's meetings. . . . The husband of Chan Shu-ying ceased going out at night, desired more and more to sleep with his wife and even brought some medicine that he thought might help her give birth to children."[95]

Indeed, playing a part in production was an important ingredient in women's

status change, but two other factors were as important. Acquisition of land and group solidarity combined with participation in production to raise the status of more women, at both the societal level and the level of interpersonal relationships between the sexes, than during any previous events in history.

In conclusion, it is valuable to assess the changes in the lives of Chinese women that occurred as a result of the land reform experience. Two sayings from the period point respectively to the importance of women and to the resulting change in perceptions of women: "Men support the front line, women actively divide the land";[96] and "The old saying: 'Black pots are not pots, women are not people' [has been] replaced by 'A woman's force is as great as an ox's.'"[97] Building on an earlier emphasis on women's role in production in the old liberated areas, during land reform three more crucial factors made economic independence more possible: land allotted and deeded to women, a widespread attempt to implement the divorce law, and group solidarity resulting from feminist mobilization techniques. In addition, the Communist party continued to supply support as an outside group with strong ideas about women's rights. This combination helped to make a woman's threat of divorce credible. Having participated in land division, many women gained some power and authority in local village affairs; they made political connections for the first time and experienced an increase in self-confidence. At the family level, members of women's organizations were able to enforce changes in the private treatment of some women. Of course, not all women benefited from land reform. While in many areas women were gaining rights to land and divorce, in a few areas women were dispossessed of their share of land, beaten, and even killed or driven to suicide "as a result of 'marriage problems.'" Figures are extremely difficult to verify, but Meijer, for example, reported that seventy thousand to eighty thousand women committed suicide or were killed each year immediately following the implementation of the 1950 marriage law.[98] The Chinese press and the party held up these ill-treated women as examples of social evils and thus encouraged further change.

By implementing as well as justifying an egalitarian ideal, land reform shook existing social and familial relationships and provided the best opportunity yet for improving the status of women. It is impossible to state the extent to which this opportunity was seized, but the past mistreatment of women had now become a public issue. Traditional attitudes, practices, and ideas of what was proper, of course, persisted to a great extent; such resistance was not entirely overcome.

The most important area of resistance was that of patrilocal marriages, which continued to force the movement of brides from their natal communities to new locations. Based on long-held assumptions that one must not marry within one's surname group, this custom could not be easily changed by law or by raising consciousness and, as far as I know, neither type of effort has been made.

The party continued after 1952, more or less, to work away at other kinds of

resistance through implementation of laws, political and educational quotas, calls for women's productive labor, better health care, and eventually the establishment of child-care facilities, laundries, and canteens. More time was needed to complete the task, but the land reform, by making feminist questions public issues, resulted in an improvement in women's status and provided a firm base on which to begin further progress. That this further improvement has not yet amounted to total equality is a point of concern for all interested in Chinese women.

Notes

1. Glimpses of Muslim Urban Women in Classical Islam

1. The classical era of Islamic history began with Muhammad the Prophet's revelation in the seventh century A.D. Determining when this era ended appears to be highly judgmental. Some scholars consider the cessation of ʿAbbasid rule in A.D. 1258 as the end of the classical era. Others conclude it with the end of the tenth century A.D. and refer to a "middle period" that lasted from the tenth century until the onset of the sixteenth century A.D. I have included no sources later than the turn of the fifteenth century A.D. All dates cited are Christian.

Although I have used a standard transliteration system, I have discarded the *tāʾ marbuṭa* except in construct, retained *ʿayn* and the internal *hamza*, discarded diacritical marks in writing the names of persons and places, but retained full diacritics in writing the titles of sources and when writing Arabic words that appear within the text. I thank Osman Mourad for his assistance with the Arabic translations.

2. Hamilton Gibb, "Women and the Law," in *Colloque sur la sociologie musulmane*, Correspondance d'orient no. 5, actes, 11–14 sept. 1961 (Bruxelles: Centre pour l'études des problèmes du monde musulman contemporain, 1961), 233–48; R. Brunschiv, "De filiation maternelle en droit musulman," *Studia islamica* 9 (1958): 49–59; U. M. Duapota, "Notes on Mutʿa or Temporary Marriage in Islam," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 8 (1939): 79–92; N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

3. This would be a husband or one who fell within the Forbidden Degrees of marriage. These degrees, perpetual impediments to marriage in Islam, are based on relationships created by consanguinity, affinity, or fosterage.

4. The origin of this official has been a subject of considerable debate among orientalists. The dominant theory holds that the *muḥtasib* was an Islamicized version of the Hellenistic *agoranomos*. This theory is rejected by others on a variety of grounds. Cf. Benjamin R. Foster, "Agoranomos and Muhtasib," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 (1970): 128–44; Pedro Chalmeta, "La ḥisba en Ifrīqiya et al-Andalus: étude comparative," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 18 (1970): 87–105; Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Un magistrate musulman: le mohtasib," *Journal des savantes* [n.v.] (1947): 33–40; Georges Marçais, "Considerations sur les villes musulmanes et notamment sur le rôle du mohtasib," *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin* 1 (La Ville, VI, 1954): 249–62; Walter Behrnauer, "Mémoire sur les institutions de police chez les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs," *Journal asiatique*, 5th ser., 15 (1860): 466–74; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-qurba fī aḥkam al-ḥisba* [Places under *Ḥisba* Jurisdiction], ed. and partial trans. Reuben Levy, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., 12 (London: Luzac & Co., 1938): xvi; J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary until the Sixth Century of the Hijra* (London: Luzac & Co., 1958), 94, 125, 136; Ahmad ʿAbd ar-Raziq, "La ḥisba et le muḥtasib en Égypte au temps des Mamlūks," *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 115–78.

5. There is one extant *ḥisba* manual from fourteenth-century India. See Al-Sunami, *Niṣāb al Iḥtisāb* [The Source-book of Rewardful Conduct], ed. and trans. David Partington, "The *Niṣāb al Iḥtisāb*: An Arabic Religio-Legal Text" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1961). I thank Professor Farhat Ziadeh for calling this work to my attention.

6. Al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfat al-nāẓir wa ghunyat al-dhākir fī ḥifẓ al-shaʿāʾir wa taghyīr al-manākir* [Article of the Inspector and the Wealth of the reports of Compliance with Religious Rite and the Censure of the Disapproved], ed. ʿAli Chenoufi, "Un traité de *ḥisba* (*Tuḥfat an-nāẓir wa Ġunyat aḍ-ḍākir fī ḥifẓ aš-šaʿāʾir wa Taġyīr al-Manākir*) de Muhammad al-ʿUqbānī at-Tilimsānī (juriste mort à Tlemcen en 871/1467)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* (*Institut français de Damas*) 19 (1965–66): Arabic text, 77; Chenoufi, 264.

7. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim* (Levy), 18.

8. Al-Jarsifi, *Risāla fī'l-ḥisba* [Treatise on *Ḥisba*], trans. Rachel Arié, "Traduction annotée et commentée des traités de *ḥisba* d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf et de ʿUmar al-Ǧarsīfī," *Hespéris Tamuda* 1 (1960): 367.

9. Al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfa* (Chenoufi), 149.

10. Yahya b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb aḥkam al-sūq* [On the Regulations of the Market], ed. and annot. M. A. Makki, "Naṣṣ jadīd fī'l ḥisba: *Kitāb al-sūq* li Yahya b. ʿUmar al-Andalus [New Text on Ḥisba . . .]," *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 4 (1956): 91–92.

11. Ibid., 86–88, n. 44; Muhammad M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids: 170–289 A.H./786–902 A.D.* (London: Longman Group, 1979), 196; Étienne Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1950–67), 3:430–31.

12. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1975), 197.

13. Ibn Bassam, *Nihāyāt al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba* [On the Practice of *Ḥisba*], ed. and annot. Husam al-Samarraie (Bagdad: Al-Maarif Press, 1968), 68–72.

14. G.-H. Bousquet, *L'Éthique sexuelle de l'Islam* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966), 84–87. For a Muslim woman who had given birth recently, the public bath served as a means of purifying her of the uterine discharge (*nifās*) following childbirth, a period during which sexual intercourse is banned by Islamic Law.

15. Ibn ʿAbdun, *Risāla fī'l-qadā' wa'l-ḥisba* [Treatise on Jurdisdiction and *Ḥisba*] trans. Étienne Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe siècle: Le traité d'Ibn ʿAbdun sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1947), 110.

16. Yahya b. ʿUmar, *Aḥkam al-sūq* (Makki), 87–88; Ibn al Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim* (Levy), 51; al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfa*, sec. 54: Arabic text, 73; Chenoufi, 268.

17. Al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfa*, sec. 54: Arabic text, 73; Chenoufi, 268.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., sec. 52: Arabic text, 72; Chenoufi, 269.

20. Ibid.

21. Roger Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinides*, trans. Besse A. Clement (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 59–60.

22. Al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfa*, sec. 58: Arabic text, 77; Chenoufi, 264.

23. Ibid.

24. Al-Maqrizi, *Al-Mauwāʿiz wa'l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthar* [Exhortations and Reflections Concerning Edifices and Monuments], ed. G. Wiet, *Mémoires de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale*, 53 fasc. 1 (1925): 142, 143.

25. Ibn al-Hajj, *Al-Madkhal* [Behavior] ([Al-Qahira]: Al-Matbaʿa al-Misriya, 1929), 3:246.

26. Al-ʿUqbani, *Tuḥfa*, sec. 60: Arabic text, 78; Chenoufi, 263.

27. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ra'uf, *Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥisba wa'l-muḥtasib* [Treatise on the Rules of *Ḥisba* and the *Muḥtasib*], trans. Rachel Arié, "Traduction annotée et commentée des traités de *ḥisba* d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf et de ʿUmar al-Ǧarsīfī," *Hespéris Tamuda* 1 (1960): 37–38.

28. Yahya b. ʿUmar, *Aḥkam al-sūq* (Makki), 93–94.

29. Ibn Bassam, *Nihāyāt al-rutba* (Al-Samarraie), 130.

30. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3:446.

31. Ahmed ʿAbd ar-Raziq, *La femme au temps des Mamloukes en Égypte* (Textes arabe et études islamiques, t. 5) (Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale, 1973), 45–48.

32. Ibid., 79–80.

33. Ibn ʿAbdun, *Risāla* (Lévi-Provençal), 113.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., 105. Prostitutes sometimes carried another symbol of their trade—a bird cage.

36. For more graphic accounts of the female criminal than those that are found in the *ḥisba* manuals, one can turn to the literary genre. Among such accounts are those of female beggars who, in capitalizing upon the Islamic mandate to bestow alms, stuffed their vaginas with parts of an animal's windpipe and lungs to simulate hernia, thus feigning disabilities as they preyed on an unwary public. See Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Medaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976) 1:38.

37. Al-Saqati, *Kitāb fī ādāb al-ḥisba* [On the Refinements of *Ḥisba*] partial trans. Étienne Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xème siècle: institutions et vie sociale* (Paris: Larose, 1932), 192–93, n.2.

2. Piety and Kin: The Limits of Antebellum Southern Women's Reform

1. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 3.

2. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," in *A Heritage of Her Own*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and

Elizabeth H. Pleck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 197–221; Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*; Barbara J. Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Mary P. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Spring 1979): 66–85. Both Nancy Cott and Mary Ryan explore the more complex ambiguities associated with the relationship between women's organizations and the reform movement.

3. Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*; Berg, *Remembered Gate*; Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast."

4. Donald Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 110.

5. Anne Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 135–41; idem, "Are We the Women Our Grandmothers Were?" (Paper delivered at the Atlanta Historical Society Symposium, Atlanta, Georgia, 4 Nov., 1980).

6. For an understanding of the limitations upon antebellum agrarian productivity, urban growth, an integrated market system, and "modern" attitudes toward fertility, see: Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840–1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972); Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers: 1850–1860* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1945); Robert R. Russel, "The Effects of Slavery Upon Nonslaveholders in the Antebellum South," *Agricultural History* 15 (1941): 112–26; Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979); Eugene O. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York: Random House, 1967); Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 85 (Dec. 1980): 1095–119; Frank J. Huffman, Jr., "Town and Country in the South, 1850–1880: A Comparison of Urban and Rural Social Structures," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 76 (1977): 366–81; Ronald R. Rindfuss, "Changing Patterns of Fertility in the South: A Social-Demographic Examination," *Social Forces* 57 (Dec. 1978): 621–35; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Socio-economic Determinants of Interstate Fertility Differentials in the United States in 1850 and 1860," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (Winter 1976): 375–96.

7. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought*, ed. Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, 3d ed. (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1982), 70.

8. Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (1932; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), 2:811; James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture: 1732–1860* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964), 74, 78; Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers*, 45, 49, 62, 93, 95; Hilliard, *Hog Meat*, 105; McDonald and McWhiney, "The South," 1096, 1105–7.

9. Hilliard, *Hogmeat*, 25, 210; Wright, *Political Economy*, 63, 71.

10. Wright, *Political Economy*, 45; Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, "The Foundation of the Modern Economy: Agriculture and the Costs of Labor in the United States and England, 1800–1860," *American Historical Review* 85 (Dec. 1980): 1055–94.

11. Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufacturing in the United States, 1640–1860: A Study in Industrial History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917), 297; Edward Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?" *American Historical Review* 85 (Dec. 1980): 1125; Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life & Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), 80–83; Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979), 37–39.

12. Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949; reprint, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 62–75, 96.

13. Cypress Presbyterian Church, Harnett County, North Carolina, Minutes, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh; *United States Census*, Harnett and Cumberland Counties, North Carolina, 1830–80.

14. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Ideal Typology and Antebellum Southern History: A Testing of a New Approach," *Societas* 5 (Winter 1975): 1–29.

15. Laura Norwood to Louisa S. Norwood, 8 Aug. 1839 (?), Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill (cited hereafter as SHC, UNC).

16. Diary of Martha Foster Crawford, 9 Sept., 1849, Martha Foster Crawford Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina (cited hereafter as MS, DUNC).

17. Henrietta Spencer to Sarah B. Evans, 12 Sept. 1842; S. B. Evans to Gabriel Adams, 5 Jan. 1843; S. B. Thomas to S. B. Evans, 6 June 1843, all in Nathaniel Evans and Family Papers, Manuscript Division, Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.

18. Owsley, *Plain Folk*, 71.

19. Mathews, *Religion*, 2–5, 39–46, 65, 240; Owsley, *Plain Folk*, 95.

20. Diary of S. Myra Cox Smith, 6 Apr. 1852, Sommerville-Howorth Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Diary of Anne Beale Davis, 16 Feb. 1851, 7 Aug. 1851, 18 June 1857, 17 Jan. 1859, SHC, UNC.

21. Beaver Dam Baptist Church, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, Minutes, Article of Faith, 7 Feb. 1828, Virginia State Library, Richmond (cited hereafter as VSL).

22. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks," 71–72.

23. Wheeler's Primitive Baptist Church, Person County, North Carolina, Minutes, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Red Banks Primitive Baptist Church, Pitt County, North Carolina, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

24. Beaver Run Baptist Church, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, Conference Minutes, Aug. 1835, VSL; Pleasant Union Christian Church, Harnett County, North Carolina, Records, 10–12, SHC, UNC; Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church, Orange County, North Carolina, Records, 62, SHC, UNC.

25. Pleasant Union Christian Church Records, SHC, UNC; Broad Run Baptist Church, Fauquier County, Virginia, Minutes, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

26. Shiloh Baptist Association, Minutes, 26 Mar. 1853, VSL; Diary of Anna Lesesne, 14 Jan. 1836, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston (cited hereafter as SCHS); Trinity and Cumberland Methodist Church, Charleston County, South Carolina, Board of Stewards, Minutes, vol. 4, 2 July 1866, SCHS; Reveille Methodist Church, Richmond County, Virginia, Board Minutes, 12, 22, 25, VSL; Rev. W. Edwards, "History of Monumental Church," 94, VSL.

27. Diary of Martha Foster Crawford, 15 Sept. 1850, 6 Oct. 1850, 21 Apr. 1852, 14 May 1852, 19 May 1852, 4 June 1852, Martha Foster Crawford Papers, MS, DUNC; Diary of Fannie Moore Bumpas, 9 Sept. 1849, Fannie Moore Bumpas Papers, MS, DUNC.

28. Diary of Ella Thomas, 4 June 1864, Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, MS, DUNC.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Earl Wallace Cory, "Temperance and Prohibition in Antebellum Georgia" (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1961), 75; "Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association at the 82nd Anniversary at Beulah Church," 3–6 Nov. 1832, 13, South Caroliniana Collection, University of South Carolina, Columbia; Stella Wyatt Brummitt, *Looking Backward, Thinking Foreward: The Jubilee History of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, 1930), 11; Athens First Presbyterian Church, Clark County, Georgia, Domestic Missionary Society, Minutes, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

3. The Planter's Wife Revisited: Women, Equity Law, and the Chancery Court in Seventeenth-century Maryland

The author wishes to thank Kenneth A. Lockridge, Nancy Erickson, and Lois Green Carr for their suggestions, and to acknowledge financial support from the University of Michigan Edward S. Beck Fellowship.

1. Mary Beard, *Woman as Force in History*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946).

2. Berenice Carroll, "On Mary Beard's *Women as Force in History*: A Critique," in *Liberating Women's History*, ed. Berenice Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 26–41; Carol Elizabeth Jenson, "The Equity Jurisdiction and Married Women's Property in Ante-Bellum America: A Revisionist View," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 2 (1979): 144–54; Carl Degler, "*Women as Force in History* by Mary Beard," *Daedalus* 103 (1974): 67–73.

3. For a brief history of equitable developments in seventeenth-century America, see Stanley Katz, "The Politics of Law in Colonial America: Controversies over Chancery Courts and Equity Law in the Eighteenth Century," in *Colonial America, Essays in Politics and Social Development*, ed. Stanley Katz (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976), 401–22; David M. Newbold, Jr., *Notes on the Introduction of Equity Jurisdiction into Maryland, 1632–1720* (Baltimore: M. Curlender, 1906), chaps. 2 and 3 in particular.

4. I wish to pay special thanks to the works of Lois Green Carr, Lorena Walsh, and Russell Menard for providing the social context so vital to this study. The following works were most helpful: Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: Experience of White Women in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 542–71; Lorena S. Walsh, "'Till Death Us

Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth Century Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, Essays on Anglo-American Society*, ed. Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 126–52; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Tate and Ammerman, 206–42; Russell R. Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase: The Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland," in *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*, ed. Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 88–110; Lois Green Carr, "The Development of the Maryland Orphan's Court 1654–1715," in *Law, Society, and Politics*, ed. Land et al., 41–61.

5. Sir William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 7th ed. (London: Methuen and Co., 1956), 5:310–15.

6. Ibid., 310–11.

7. Ibid., 310–15.

8. John Hamilton Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London: Butterworth, 1979), 401–6; Oliver R. McGregor, *Divorce in England: A Centenary Study* (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1957), 9–11; *Ashton* v. *Ashton* (1650), *Chancery Reports*, 1:164.

9. See cases cited in *Pridgeon* v. *Pridgeon* (1668), *Chancery Reports*, 1:117. In cases where the wife acquired separate property the husband was no longer liable either in law or equity for her debts. See *Ferras* v. *Ferras* (1682), in Holdsworth, *English Law*, 6:646.

10. D. E. C. Yale, ed., *Lord Nottingham's 'Manual of Chancery Practice' and 'Prolegomena of Chancery and Equity'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), introd., 7–16, 69–74; Baker, *Legal History*, 94; George William Keeton, *An Introduction to Equity*, 3d ed. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1952), 41; Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:547–48.

11. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," 544–46, 550.

12. Ibid., 544–45, 551.

13. Roger Thompson, *Women in Stuart England and America* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), 164.

14. The recording statute of 1671 required registration of settlements with land deeds. However, it does not appear the law was followed. As a result no definitive count can be made. Some couples did have them recorded in court records and evidence of these contracts are also found in testamentary proceedings. William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 10:395, 396; 51:4–6; 56:45–46, 50, 52, 54, 429, 468–69; Charles County Court (ms.), A#1, 215, A#1, 216–17, C#1, 270–71, P#1, 180. In *Testamentary Proceedings*, 6:63–65; 17:29–31, fourteen so far have been found: five either preface a first marriage or cannot be determined under what conditions they were written; nine were established by widows. These court records and all other primary source material in this paper are to be found in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

15. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," 564.

16. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (New York: KTO Press, 1981), 160–65.

17. The late age at marriage and the early death of the male population accounts in large part for the small accumulation of wealth by the Chesapeake planter. Alan Kulikoff estimates that men usually came to seventeenth-century Prince George's County, Maryland, as indentured servants at around age twenty-two, served for five years, and then worked as agricultural laborers for another five years, which left them approximately fifteen to twenty years to establish a home, find a marriage partner, and raise a family. As a result, fathers either died before their daughters came of age or had not acquired enough wealth to provide their daughters with separate estates. Alan Kulikoff, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth Century Prince George's County, Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), 38–41.

18. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:4–6; 57:50–52, 54, 429.

19. Carr, "Orphan's Court," 41.

20. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," 559.

21. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:450–55.

22. Marylynn Salmon, "The Property Rights of Women in Early America: A Comparative Study," (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1980), 166–67.

23. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 7:694.

24. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," 555, 560.

25. See, for example, Browne et al., *Archives*, 53:29, 167; 54:183, 209; 57:47, 199; Carr, "Orphan's Court," 41.

26. Beard, *Women as Force*, 135–55.

27. Almost 90 percent of the county court business and a substantial amount of the provincial court's record is taken up with debt suits. Women were normally named executrices of husbands' estates and by law were granted administration of deceased spouses' estates, unless they refused. Browne et al., *Archives*, 1:64–65 (Act of 1638). For examples of widows as plaintiffs and defendants in debt suits, see Browne et al., *Archives*: (plaintiff), 70:134, 154, 193; (defendant), 70:6–8, 40, 93, 166, 266.

28. Carroll T. Bond, *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1933), xxv, xxvi; Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:xiii, xiv, xli.

29. See, for example, agreements found in Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:4–6; 55:429; 57:468–69.

30. *Testamentary Proceedings*, 6:63–65; 17:29–31; Charles County Court, A#1, 216–17, B#1, 78, C#1, 270–71, P#1, 180.

31. Browne et al., *Archives*, 57:468–69.

32. Ibid.

33. Thompson, *Women in England*, 166.

34. Baker, *Legal History*, 396–97, 399; Holdsworth, *English Law*, 1:622–23; Salmon, "Property Rights of Women," 108.

35. Six postnuptial separation agreements have been found during the first proprietary period. Browne et al., *Archives*, 10:471; 15:206–7, 321–22; 53:33; 54:81–82; 70:359–60.

36. Browne et al., *Archives*, 54:81–82.

37. Thomas Harris and John McHenry, *Maryland Reports* . . . (New York: C. Wiley, 1812), 4:477.

38. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 1:622–23; 6:646; *Ashton* v. *Ashton* (1650), *Equity Cases Abridged*, 1:67; *Pridgeon* v. *Pridgeon* (1668), *Chancery Reports*, 1:164.

39. Mary Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 427.

40. Elizabeth Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs, Women in Business and the Professions* (Clifton, N.J.: Augustus M. Kelley, 1932).

41. Browne et al., *Archives*, 41:233. There were exceptions and some men, particularly in Kent County, continued to appoint wives as attorneys to conduct business for them before the court until about 1670. Browne et al., *Archives*, 54:171, 236, 255, 290, 305.

42. George B. Seriven, "Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 57 (1962): 36–38. "Women played a rather large part in Maryland's medical practices in the seventeenth century." Many were practical nurses who took care of the sick for pay, going to their houses or taking patients into their own homes. Four women claimed to be "doctors." Nearly all obstetrical care was handled by midwives. Husbands sued alone for their wives' fees. Examples are found in Browne et al., *Archives*, 4:446, 478, 479; 53:605–6, 145–47; 54:230, 260, 417.

43. The classic statement that has influenced most other historians on the issue is by Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 2d ed. (1930; reprint, Philadelphia: Joseph M. Mitchell Co., 1959), chap. 3.

44. For a history of the chancery court and legal procedure, see Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:xxii–lx. The quotation is from p. xxii.

45. Ibid., xxxii–xliv.

46. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:314–15.

47. Browne et al., *Archives*, vol. 51, contains the seven cases involving married women: *Beedle* v. *Wells*, *Bland* v. *Dorsey*, *Blomfield* v. *Gardner*, *Hatton* v. *Dent*, *Ingram* v. *Harris*, *Robinson* v. *Rozer*, and *Rousby* v. *Pearce*. See the Table of Cases on pp. 571–72 for the pages concerning these cases.

48. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:xxxii; Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government 1689–1692* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 14, 33–34, 42–43.

49. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:xxvi–xxvii.

50. Katz, "Politics of Law," 258–59. John Kilty, the first and most knowledgeable historian on land policy in Maryland, believed there were so many ways for land to escheat to Lord Baltimore that "there was little danger of a failure whenever the government thought a case worthy of inquire." Noting the great frequency of escheats during the first proprietary period, Kilty concluded that the laws and rules "rested very much upon the constructions and pleasures of the proprietary." John Kilty, *The Landholder's Assistant* . . . (Baltimore: G. Dobbin & Murphy, 1808), 174–76.

51. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:158–60. The English Chancery Court in *Sidenham* v. *Courtney* (1598–99) and *Rivet* v. *Rower* (1634–35) had decided the court should base its decision upon the intent of the testator. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:320.

52. There is a good deal of evidence that Lord Baltimore wished to create a feudal society replete with manors and a titled nobility. The charter he received from Charles II granted him these rights among other feudal institutions such as courts leet and baron. It has been noted that Lord Baltimore took his model from the bishop of Durham, who ruled his county like a feudal lord. Lord Baltimore's place of birth was just south of the palatinate of the bishop. See "The First Century of the Court of Chancery of Maryland," in Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:xxxii–xxxv.

53. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:314; D. E. C. Yale, ed., *Lord Nottingham's Chancery Cases*, Selden Society, vol. 79 (London: Selden Society, 1957), 2:113.

54. For example, see Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:248.

55. Ibid., 51:314–16.

56. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:321–22, 326; George Cary, *Reports of Causes in Chancery* (London: A. Maxwell, 1665), 16, 17.

57. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:227–29.

58. For a history of the seventeenth-century Maryland Chancery Court and its jurisdiction, see Newbold, *Equity into Maryland*. Reference to the Acts of 1642 are found on pp. 21–22.

59. Sir Frances Moore wrote to Bishop John Williams when the latter became chancellor in 1621, advising him that the chancellor has "a power of jurisdiction according to Equity and Conscience which burthen his Lordship is to take upon himself and undergo. But that Conscience is the King's committed to the Chancellor and if the Chancellor shall in his own private Conscience be of another opinion than he is persuaded the King his master would be, he is to judge according to King's Conscience and not his own, which rules he means ever to hold." The quotation is taken from Yale, *Nottingham's Manual*, 78.

60. Holdsworth, *English Law*, 5:235; Newbold, *Equity into Maryland*, 5–7; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution*, 14, 31, 37–40, 42–43.

61. Browne et al., *Archives*, 51:205, 208, 219, 290, 534–39.

62. Ibid., 95, 165–67, 215–18.

63. Ibid., xlv–li; see *Houldsorth* v. *Ashcomb* for an example, in *Chancery Court Records*, 322, Microfilm P C.

64. The county courts as well as the provincial court were granted the authority to apply equitable principles to the decisions of causes warranting such application. In several acts passed by the legislature, including the "Act for Judges" (1642), the judges were to apply "Equity or Good Conscience" at their discretion. See Newbold, *Equity into Maryland*, 38–40, for the several acts sanctioning equity in the county courts. The quotation is from Browne et al., *Archives*, 54:646.

65. Ibid., 628–29.

66. Ibid., 223–24, 245. County courts were granted equitable jurisdiction to twelve hundred pounds of tobacco in 1697. However, because the county court records do not indicate if or when the court was sitting in equity, it is impossible to determine the extent of equitable relief afforded by the statute. Browne et al., *Archives*, 38:101.

4. Aristocratic Widows in Fifteenth-century England

1. A fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities facilitated the final revision of this contribution.

2. This is forthcoming as "Old Men's Lives—Elderly English Peers, 1350–1500," in *Medievalia* (SUNY Binghamton, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies).

3. Howard L. Gray, "Incomes from Land in England in 1436," *English Historical Review* 49 (1934): 607–39.

4. The basic biographical information on the peeresses is from Vicary Gibbs et al., eds., *The Complete Peerage*, 12 vols. (London: St. Catherine's Press, 1910–59). The material for the women usually appears at the end of each entry, after the husband's career has been related and he is dead.

5. Nine women married two peers from the higher nobility: Beatrice of Portugal (an earl and a duke), Elizabeth Scrope (a viscount and an earl), Jaquetta of St. Pol (a duke and an earl), Katherine Wydeville (two dukes), Margaret Holland (a marquis and a duke), Cecilly Bonville (a marquis and an earl), Anne Stafford (an earl and a duke), Alice Chaucer—the only commoner of the nine—(an earl and a duke), and Cecilly Neville (a duke and an earl). (The husbands' ranks are given in chronological marital order.)

6. J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History*, ed. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), 101–43.

7. David Herlihy, *Women in Medieval Society* (Houston: University of St. Thomas, 1971), 6–8.

8. Henry S. Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), especially chap. 3. Also see Anne S. Haskell, "The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth Century England," *Viator* 4 (1973): 459–72.

9. Katherine Howard married Edward Neville, third Lord Abergavenny, after they had cohabited during the lifetime of his first wife. They needed a special dispensation for the marriage, not for adultery but because they were related within the third degree. Mary Brooke had been the mistress of George Neville, fourth Lord Abergavenny, before she became his fourth wife and eventual survivor. His will makes no mention of her.

10. Gibbs et al., *The Complete Peerage*, 5:281: "Fatua et ydeota est et a nativitate sua semper fuit." She had to seek a royal pardon for the second marriage, contracted without prior approval.

11. My thanks to Dr. Caroline Barron of Bedford College, University of London, for reminding me to clarify the distinction between actually entering a regular house and taking vows of chaste widowhood and then remaining in the world, at least within a secular household.

12. *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for The Governance of the Royal Household* (London, 1790, for The Society of Antiquaries), 37–39.

13. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1467–77*, 191–92 (*CPR* henceforth).

14. *CPR 1399–1403*, 201, 243, 398, 513.

15. *CPR 1461–67*, 87. The widow was actually the aunt of the earl of Worcester, i.e., his dead father's sister, though she is called his "sister" in the *CPR*. Also see *CPR 1467–77*, 17, and *CPR 1485–95*, 120.

16. *CPR 1467–77*, 532. The son and heir was fourteen when his father died, so the mother had some seven years of responsibility and of double income.

17. *CPR 1408–13*, 403.

18. *CPR 1416–22*, 415–16.

19. Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Trial of Eleanor Cobham: An Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968–69): 381–99.

20. *CPR 1461–67*, 283–84.

21. *CPR 1422–29*, 136; Gibbs et al., *The Complete Peerage*, 11:104 (and this entry gives quotations from and references to material in *The Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vols. 2 and 3).

22. *CPR 1422–29*, 422, and *CPR 1416–22*, 34.

23. *CPR 1494–1509*, 597.

24. Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1975). In 1465 Edward IV forced the sixty-five-year-old dowager duchess of Norfolk to marry his twenty-year-old brother-in-law, John Wydeville: "The marriage of elderly widows to much younger men was not without precedent, but this was an extreme example and even a chronicler hostile to the Woodvilles had some justification for calling it a *maritagium diabolicum*. There is a certain irony in the fact that the old lady was to survive her youthful bridegroom by more than fourteen years" (p. 39).

25. Frederick W. Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills*, Somerset Record Series, vol. 16 (1901), 186–93.

26. Wills of the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury, Public Record Office, 3 Stokton (PRO henceforth).

27. PRO, E 41/364.

28. Gibbs et al., *The Complete Peerage*, 11:705.

29. PRO, 11 Hogan, and PRO, 11 Stokton.

30. Robin L. Storey, ed., *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406–37*, Surtees Society, vol. 169 (1955), 111, # 691.

31. PRO, 2 Logge.

32. *CPR 1456–61*, 567.

5. Was She a Good Mother? Some Thoughts on a New Issue for Feminist Biography

I would like to thank Stephen Antler, Janet James, Ann J. Lane, Barbara Sicherman, and Susan Ware for their comments on this paper.

1. Joyce Antler, "Feminism as Life Process: The Life and Career of Lucy Sprague Mitchell," *Feminist Studies* 7 (Spring 1981): 134–57.

2. For a discussion of the difficulties faced by educated women after graduation, see Joyce Antler, "After College, What?: New Graduates and the Family Claim," *American Quarterly* 32 (Fall 1980): 409–34.

3. I have described Mitchell's work in "Progressive Education and the Scientific Study of the Child: An Analysis of the Bureau of Educational Experiments," *Teachers College Record* 83 (Summer 1982): 559–91.

4. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953).

5. Sources for the outline of Mitchell's life given here include Lucy Sprague Mitchell's *Two Lives*; "Reminiscences," the oral history of Lucy Sprague Mitchell recorded at the University of California at Berkeley in 1964; the Lucy Sprague Mitchell Papers at Columbia University Library, which includes Mitchell's unpublished autobiography, circa 1946; the diaries of Wesley Clair Mitchell, loaned to me through the courtesy of Joseph Dorfman; and interviews with many members of the Mitchell family, colleagues, and friends. For purposes of this article, I am particularly grateful to Arnold and Sprague Mitchell, the late John McClellan Mitchell, Margaret Coolidge, and Barbara Biber. For a summary of Mitchell's life, also see Joyce Antler, "Lucy Sprague Mitchell," in *Notable American Women: The Modern Period, A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Sicherman et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1980), 484–87.

6. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 60, 64, 66; idem, unpublished autobiography, unpaged.

7. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 121.

8. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 133.

9. Ibid.

10. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 210.

11. Lucy Sprague to Wesley Mitchell, 29 Oct. 1911, Lucy Sprague Mitchell Papers, Columbia University Library, New York (cited hereafter as Mitchell Papers).

12. Mitchell to Sprague, 3 Nov., 6 Nov. 1911, Mitchell Papers.

13. Sprague to Mitchell, 2 Dec., 18 Dec. 1911, Mitchell Papers.

14. Mitchell to Sprague, 7 Dec. 1911, Mitchell Papers.

15. Mitchell, unpublished autobiography.

16. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 259.

17. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 258.

18. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 269–70.

19. Interviews with the Mitchell children took place on several occasions during the years 1977–80. Quotations in the text come from transcriptions of these interviews.

20. Ellen Lagemann, *A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 160.

21. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, xviii.

22. Justin Kaplan, "The Real Life," in *Studies in Biography*, ed. Daniel Aaron, Harvard English Studies 8 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 3.

23. Mitchell, unpublished autobiography.

6. Linnaeus's Daughters: Women and British Botany

1. Carolyn Merchant surveyed research in the feminist history of science in "Isis' Consciousness Raised," *Isis* 73, no. 268 (1982): 398–409. Two still more recent works concerning women and science are Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); and Emanuel D. Rudolph, "Women in Nineteenth Century American Botany: A Generally Unrecognized Constituency," *American Journal of Botany* 69, no. 8 (1982): 1346–55.

2. The following works have opened a new chapter of scholarship on this subject: Blanche Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800*, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); David E. Allen, "The First Woman Pteridologist," *British Pteridological Society Bulletin* 1, no. 6 (1978): 247–49; and idem, with Dorothy W. Lousley, "Some Letters to Margaret Stovin (1756?–1846), Botanist of Chesterfield," *Naturalist* 104 (1979): 155–63.

3. See David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976); and idem, *The Victorian Fern Craze: A History of Pteridomania* (London: Hutchinson, 1969). Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History 1820–1870* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), is rich in material, but the author is abusive toward women and is not interested in the context of their work in natural history.

4. See Alan Gilbert Morton, *History of Botanical Science* (London: Academic Press, 1981), chaps. 7 and 8.

5. Henrey, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature*, vols. 2 and 3.

6. Jacques Roger, "The Living World," in *The Ferment of Knowledge: Studies in the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Science* ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 260–61.

7. Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackrey, "Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community 1700–1900," *History of Science* 12 (1974): 12–13.

8. David E. Allen, "The Women Members of the Botanical Society of London, 1836–1856," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 13, no. 45 (1980): 240–54. After presenting this research at the fifth Berkshire Conference, I read this article, in which Allen also remarks on the father-daughter pattern I trace here.

9. All biographical work in this area begins with Ray Desmond, ed., *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists, Including Plant Collectors and Botanical Artists* (London: Taylor & Frances, 1977).

10. Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists 1550–1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 41. Germaine Greer elaborated on negative aspects of the father-daughter relationship for the female artist in *The Obstacle Race* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1979), chap. 1.

11. Elisabeth Linnea, "Om Indianska Krassens Blickande," *Svenska Kongliga Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar* 23 (1762): 284–86. I am grateful to Professor Sten Kjellberg, York University, for translating this essay.

12. Christian Friedrich Harless, *Die Verdienste der Frauen um Naturwissenschaft und Heilkunde* (Göttingen: Vanden Hoeck-Ruprecht, 1830), 252–53.

13. V. P. Wystrach, "Anna Blackburne (1726–1793)—a neglected patron of natural history," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 8, pt. 2 (1977): 148–68.

14. E. J. Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery Hammersmith* (London: Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), 41–42. Linnaeus did not comply; the designation "Blackburnia" was given later by J. R. and G. F. Forster.

15. Willson, *James Lee*, 61.

16. *Kew Bulletin* (1899): 19–20.

17. Cited in Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists*.

18. *Journal of Botany* 15 (1877): 95–96.

19. *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1908–9), 12:148. Uxorial financial rescue of nonbotanical husbands underlay Elizabeth Blackwell's *A Curious Herbal* (1737–39) and Priscilla Wakefield's books on natural history at the turn of the nineteenth century.

20. Charles Abbot, *Flora Bedfordiensis* (London, 1798), vii.

21. J. G. Dony, "Bedfordshire Naturalists: Charles Abbot (1761–1817)," *The Bedfordshire Naturalist* 3 (1948): 39.

22. *Journal of Botany* 32 (1894): 315.

23. Henrey, *British Botanical Literature*, 2:256.

24. Henrey, *British Botanical Literature*, 2:14. John Hill's *Useful Family Herbal*, first published in 1754, went through six editions by 1812.

25. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *A Voyage Around the World*, trans. J. R. Forster (London, 1772; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1967), 300–301. This information came from Professor Ruth Dawson, University of Hawaii.

26. Marianne North's autobiography has been abridged and issued recently as *A Vision of Eden: The Life and Work of Marianne North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980).

27. Ernest Nelmes and William Cuthbertson, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine Dedications 1827–1927* (London: published for the Royal Horticultural Society by B. Quaritch, 1931), 311.

28. Wilfrid Blunt, *The Compleat Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus* (London: Collins, 1971), 176–77.

29. Richard Polwhele, *The Unsex'd Females: A Poem*, and Marg Ann Radcliffe, *The Female Advocate* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974).

30. Frances Arabella Rowden, *A Poetical Introduction to the Study of Botany* (London, 1801), "Advertisement." I draw on their accounts of the *mimosa pudica*, the "sensitive plant," in Rowden, *A Poetical Introduction*, 153–55, and in Erasmus Darwin, "The Loves of the Plants," in *The Botanic Garden* (1791; reprint, London: Scolar Press, 1973), canto 1, ll. 247–62.

7. The Holy Woman and the Urban Community in Sixteenth-century Avila

1. For social aspects of a religious vocation for women, see: Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1896); Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 89–99; Eleanor McLaughlin, "Women, Power, and the Pursuit of Holiness in Medieval Christianity," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 100–130; Asunción Lavrín, "Values and Meaning of Monastic Life for Nuns in Colonial Mexico," *Catholic Historical Review* 58 (1972):367–87; idem, "Women in Convents: Their Economic and Social Role in Colonial Mexico," in *Liberating Women's History*, ed. Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 250–77. A large number of the women who achieved fame as writers in Spain before 1800 belonged to religious orders. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1975).

2. On *beatas*, see: Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 69–70, 176–78; William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 86–87, 185–87; idem, *Local Religion in Early Modern Castile* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 15–17; Mary Elizabeth Perry, "*Beatas* and the Problem of Power in Early Modern Seville" (Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Berkeley, April 1982); Gustav Henningsen and Marisa Rey-Henningsen, "Hekse og hellige kvinder" (Witches and Holy Women), *Dansk Folkemindesamling* 77, no. 1 (1977). For similar groups of holy women in medieval Europe, such as Beguines, see: Ernest McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954); Brenda Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae," *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 77–95; idem, "Vitae Matrum: A Further Aspect of the *Frauenfrage*," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 253–73.

3. I am much indebted here to Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin's introductory essay, "Women's Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions: Continuity and Change," in *Women of Spirit*, 16–28.

4. For the early history of Avila, see general works such as: Juan Martín Carramolino, *Historia de Avila, su provincia y obispado* (Madrid: Librería española, 1872–73), 1:5–136; José María Quadrado, *Salamanca, Avila y Segovia* (Barcelona: D. Cortezo y ca., 1884), 302–3; Enrique Ballesteros, *Estudio histórico de Avila y su territorio* (Avila: Tip. de M. Sarachaga, 1896), 10–21; Luis Ariz, *Historia de las grandezas de la ciudad de Avila* (Alcalá de Henares: L. Martínez Grande, 1607), 1r–7r (not always reliable).

5. Elena Lourie, "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past and Present* 35 (1966): 54–76.

6. This information comes from an analysis of the Actas Consistoriales, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Avila (cited hereafter as AHPA), and genealogical material provided in Ariz and other sources. See also: Luis Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía: puntos de vista sobre la historia política castellana del siglo XV* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1975), 9–17; Salvador de Moxó, "De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva: la transformación nobilaria castellana en la baja Edad Media," *Cuadernos de Historia* 3 (1969); Marie Claude Gerbet, "Les guerres et l'acces à la noblesse en Espagne de 1465 à 1592," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 8 (1978): 295–325.

7. The will of doña María de Herrera was published by Manuel de Foronda in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 63 (1913): 332–50. For chantries in England, see: K. L. Wood-Leigh, "Some Aspects of the History of Chantries in the Later Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 28 (1946): 47–60.

8. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (cited hereafter as AHN), seccion Jesuitas, legajo 189–1.

9. Felipe Ruíz Martín, "La población española al comienzo de los tiempos modernos," *Cuadernos de Historia* 1 (1967): 189–202; Ramón Carande Thobar, *Carlos V y sus banqueros; la vida económica en Castilla 1516–1556* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1965), 57–71; "Vecindad de la

Ciudad y Arrabales de Avila," 17 May 1561, Archivo General del Estado, Simancas (cited hereafter as AGS), Expedientes de Hacienda, seg. ser. leg. 50–3.

10. Actas, AHPA, 1558, 1562. The "Ordenanzas" of Avila of 1485 ordered the churches of San Juan and la Magdalena to keep the Mercado Chico and Mercado Grande, respectively, free of objects during public use of these spaces for events such as bullfights and jousts, *Boletín de la Réal Academia de Historia* 72 (1918): 313–16. For the growth of cities in the Mediterranean region as a whole during this period, see: Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 1:334–38.

11. For Avila's participation in the *Comunero* revolt of 1520–21, see: Manuel Danvila, "Historia crítica y documentada de las comunidades de Castilla," *Memorial Histórico Español* 35–36 (1897–1900).

12. "Copia de carta o memorial del licenciado Antonio Pérez," 24 April 1502, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de la Historia de España* 36:447–54. I owe this reference to Professor Charles Gibson.

13. Bataillon, *Erasmo*, 1–10.

14. The important reformer and theologian Juan de Avila (not from the city of Avila) finally began receiving scholarly attention in the years surrounding his canonization in 1970. The best study of his life and work is Juan de Avila, *Obras completas del Santo Maestro Juan de Avila*, ed. Luis Sala Balust and Francisco Martín Hernández, 6 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Católico, 1970). For his correspondence with reformers in Avila such as Gaspar Daza, Francisco de Guzmán, Mari Díaz, and Saint Teresa, see: José Vicente Rodríguez, "Cinco cartas inéditas de San Juan de Avila," *Revista de Espiritualidad* 34 (1975): 366–71. For the origins of the Jesuits in Avila, see: *Monumenta Historica Societis Jesu*, 2:108–9, 132, 141; 3:311, 366; 4:584–87; 5:442–44; Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la asistencia de España* (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1909), 1:419–22; Victoriano Larrañaga, *La espiritualidad de San Ignacio de Loyola: estudio comparativo con la de Santa Teresa de Jesús* (Madrid: A. C. N. de P., 1944), 56–62.

15. Most information concerning Mari Díaz comes from the "Información de la vida, muerte y milagros de la Venerable María Díaz," a series of testimonies by people who remembered the holy woman, commissioned by the bishops of Avila between 1600 and 1623. The manuscript is located in Archivo Diocesano, Avila (cited hereafter as ADA), codice 3.345. See also: Luis de la Puente, *Obras escogidas del V. P. Luis de la Puente* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1958), 60–64; Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, "María Díaz, llamada La Esposa del Santísimo Sacramento," *El Monte Carmelo* 16 (1915): 174–77, 380–82, 414–18; 17 (1915): 102–5, 166–70, 224–29, 300–304, 410–16; 18 (1916): 56–59; idem, *Vida del Maestro Julián de Avila . . .* (Toledo: Impr. de la viuda e hijos de J. Peláez, 1915), 183–204.

16. AGS, Exp. Hac., 50-3; Bartolemé Bennassar, "Medina del Campo, un exemple des structures urbaines de l'Espagne au XVIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, no. 4 (1961): 474–95; Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, N. H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 214–15.

17. "Información," testimony of Bartolomé Díaz de Luján, ADA, codice 3.345.

18. Joseph de Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1964).

19. Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101; Malveena McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the mujer varonil* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

20. De la Puente, *Obras escogidas*, 60.

21. Bartolomé Fernández Valencia, *Historia y grandezas del insigne templo de . . . San Vicente* (Avila, 1676), 1:285–89.

22. "Información," testimonies of Fray Luis Pacheco, Diego de Espinosa, ADA codice 3.345.

23. In a eulogy to Mari Díaz by the cathedral chapter of Avila, quoted in Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, *Julián de Avila*, 202, Ana Reyes also testified how the *beata* gave "sanísimos consejos a todos a cada uno según su condición, estado y capacidad," in "Información," ADA, codice 3.345.

24. Actas, AHPA, 17 Nov. 1572. For Mari Díaz's references to Christ or the Host as "vecino," see de la Puente, *Obras escogidas*, 61; and Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, *Julián de Avila*, 190.

25. For how much a funeral service by the cathedral chapter would usually cost, see AHN, Clero, libro 18924.

26. AHN, Clero, leg. 245; Archivo del Seminario, Avila, leg. 8, num. 6; Ferreol Hernández Hernández, "El convento cisterciense de Santa Ana en Avila," *Cistercium* 11 (1959): 136–44; *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroeder (Rockford, Ill.: TAN Books, 1978), 175–79.

27. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, *Julián de Avila*, 30 ff.; AHN, Jesuitas, leg. 489-1; Introduction by Vicente de la Fuente, in Julián de Avila, *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús* (Madrid: Impr. de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1881); Efren de la Madre de Dios and Otger Steggink, *Tiempo y vida de Santa Teresa* (Madrid: Editorial Católico, 1968), 161–82.

8. Right-wing Female Activitists in Buenos Aires, 1900-1932

1. Research for the original paper on which this chapter is based was funded by a U.S. Office of Education Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Grant (1977) and a summer stipend award from the National Endowment for the Humanities (1981). I wish to thank Asunción Lavrin, Lynn Wheeler, Anna Macias, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Susan Socolow, Rose Spalding, Bruce Fenner, Edith Couturier, María del Carmen Feijoó, and the editors of this book for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. They are not responsible for any deficiencies in this work.

The year 1932 in the title has been chosen as a cutoff because it marked the end of the official relationship between the government and the Argentine Civic Legion, one of the right-wing groups discussed.

2. For a more extensive definition of the right wing, see Sandra F. McGee, "The Social Origins of Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900–1932" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1979), 1–11.

3. The topic of right-wing women in Latin America awaits study. There are no specific works on this subject for Argentina, although Cynthia Jeffress Little touches upon some of the themes of this paper in "Education, Philanthropy, and Feminism: Components of Argentine Womanhood, 1860–1926," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978), 235–53. Also, Osvaldo Bayer briefly mentions right-wing women in *Los vengadores de la Patagonia trágica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Galerna, 1974), 1:48–50. The only case of right-wing female activism in Latin America that has received substantial attention is the women's opposition to the Allende regime in Chile. See Michele Mattelart, "Chile: The Feminine Side of the Coup or When Bourgeois Women Take to the Streets," *NACLA Latin America and Empire Report* 9 (Sept. 1975): 14–25; idem, "Chile: The Feminine Version of the Coup D'Etat," in *Sex and Class in Latin America*, ed. June Nash and Helen Icken Safa (Brooklyn: J. F. Bergin Publishers, 1980), 270–301; María de los Angeles Crummet, "*El Poder Femenino*: The Mobilization of Women Against Socialism in Chile," *Latin American Perspectives* 4 (Fall 1977): 103–13; María Correa Morande, *La guerra de las mujeres* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad Tecnica del Estado, 1974); Teresa Donoso Loero, *La epopeya de las ollas vacías* (Santiago: Editorial Nacional Gabriela Mistral, 1974).

4. Mattelart noted that antifeminist men of the right also supported female mobilization against Allenda in "Chile: The Feminine Version," 287.

5. República Argentina, Dirección Nacional del Servicio Estadístico, *Cuarto censo general de la Nación* (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1949), 1:lxii, l; Carl Solberg, *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), 36.

6. República Argentina, Comisión Nacional del Censo, *Tercer censo nacional* (Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1916), 1:202.

7. Ibid., 128, 130–31.

8. Ibid., 188.

9. República Argentina, Dirección General de Estadística, *La población y el movimiento demográfico en el período 1910–1925* (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1926), 29; *La Prensa*, 18 May 1919.

10. For examples of this concern see Katherine S. Dreier, *Five Months in the Argentine from a Woman's Point of View, 1918 to 1919* (New York: F. F. Sherman, 1920), 18–20, 168; Cynthia Jeffress Little, "Moral Reform and Feminism," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 17 (Nov. 1975): 386–97; Manuel Gálvez, *La trata de blancas* (Buenos Aires: n.p., 1904).

11. Carlos F. Díaz Alejandro, *Essays in the Economic History of the Argentine Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 3.

12. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 172; James R. Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860–1910* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 38, 170.

13. Adolfo Dorfman, *Historia de la industria argentina*, 2d ed. (Buenos Aires: Solar/Hachette, 1970), 285.

14. Several general sources on Argentine labor during this period include Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., ed., *La clase trabajadora argentina (documentos para su historia—1890–1912)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial

Galerna, 1970); Richard Alan Yoast, "The Development of Argentine Anarchism: A Socio-Ideological Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975); Sebastián Marotta, *El movimiento sindical argentino: su génesis y desarrollo*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Lacio, 1960–61); Diego Abad de Santillán, *La F.O.R.A.: Ideología y trayectoria del movimiento obrero revolucionario en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nervio, 1970).

15. Argentina, *Tercer censo*, 1:252; Lily Sosa de Newton, *Las argentinas, de ayer a hoy* (Buenos Aires: L. V. Zanetti, 1967), 185, 216.

16. Dreier, *Five Months*, 198–207; Yoast, "Argentine Anarchism," 299–300. On the Socialist party, see Richard J. Walter, *The Socialist Party of Argentina, 1890–1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977). Female involvement in the labor movement deserves more study. An important memoir by a female anarchist is Juana Rouco Buela's *Historia de un ideal vivido por una mujer* (Buenos Aires, 1964).

17. Spalding, *Clase trabajadora*, 449–96; James R. Scobie, *Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870–1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 156–58.

18. On feminist organizations and their programs, see Little, "Argentine Womanhood"; Dreier, *Five Months*; María del Carmen Feijoó, "Las luchas feministas," *Todo Es Historia*, no. 128 (Jan. 1978): 7–23; Nancy Caro Hollander, "Women in the Political Economy of Argentina" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1974). Like feminists in the United States and Europe at this time, Argentine feminists stressed the importance of motherhood and the moral superiority of women over men.

19. Marotta, *Movimiento sindical*, 2:69–79; Eduardo Gilimón, *Un anarquista en Buenos Aires (1890–1910)* (Buenos Aires, 1971), 99–107.

20. On the topic of the church and the social question, see Richard L. Camp, *The Papal Ideology of Social Reform: A Study in Historical Development, 1878–1967* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969).

21. On Social Catholicism, see José Elías Niklison, "Acción social católica obrera," *Boletín del Departamento Nacional del Trabajo* 46 (Mar. 1920); and Néstor Tomás Auza, *Los católicos argentinos: su experiencia política y social* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Diagrama, 1962).

22. Frederick Jesup Stimson, *My United States* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), 310–11. Also see Cynthia Jeffress Little, "The Society of Beneficence in Buenos Aires, 1823–1900" (Ph.D. diss. Temple University, 1980).

23. "Consejo Nacional de Mujeres," *Boletín del Museo Social Argentino* 1 (1912): 161–67. Cynthia Little describes some of the activities of upper-class women in "Argentine Womanhood." Two upper-class women discuss their upbringing in the following memoirs: Carmen Peers de Perkins, *Cuando éramos jóvenes el siglo y yo* (Buenos Aires: Jorge Alvarez, 1969); Celina de Arenaza, *Sin memoria* (Buenos Aires: Ronaldo J. Pellegrini, 1980).

24. Celia La Palma de Emery, *Discursos y conferencias: Acción pública y privada en favor de la mujer y del niño en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Alfa y Omega, 1910), 18–20, 181, 241–42.

25. Miguel de Andrea, "Orientaciones sociales," *Instituto Popular de Conferencias* 3 (22 June 1917): 82.

26. In many different settings, female activists and others have often supported women's political participation (although not necessarily a conservative position) as an extension of women's roles in the family. An Argentine socialist and feminist, Alicia Moreau, and an Argentine conservative writer, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, argued that women would promote humane legislation and morality in politics; see Miguel Font, ed., *La mujer: Encuesta feminista argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1921), 24–25, 35. In *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), Elsa Chaney concluded that female politicians and government officials in Latin America view themselves as mothers tending the needs of their "families" in the larger arena of their cities or nations.

27. Andrea, "Orientaciones," 85.

28. For the full spectrum of opinions on feminism and women's rights, see Font, *La mujer*.

29. For example, see Enrique Ruiz Guiñazú, "Las fuerzas perdidas en la economía nacional," *Instituto Popular de Conferencias* 3 (10 Aug. 1917): 178. Also see Font, *La mujer*, and Catalina Wainerman and Marysa Navarro, "El trabajo de la mujer en la Argentina: Análisis preliminar de las ideas dominantes en las primeras décadas del siglo XX," *Cuadernos de CENEP*, no. 7 (1979): 111–14.

30. Miguel de Andrea, *La perturbación social contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1919), 111–14. Another influential Social Catholic priest, Gustavo Franceschi, supported female suffrage in "Sobre feminismo católico," *El Pueblo*, 17 June 1920.

31. *El Pueblo*, 2–3, 22 May 1910; Ambrosio Romero Carranza, *Itinerario de Monseñor de Andrea* (Buenos Aires, 1957), 69–70. No membership lists are available for this organization.

32. Quoted in La Palma de Emery, *Discursos*, 247–49.

33. *El Pueblo*, 2–3, 12, 22 May 1910; Romero Carranza, *Itinerario*, 69–70. The actions of the Daughters of Mary are similar to those of El Poder Femenino in Chile; see the Mattelart articles in n. 3 above.

34. Niklison, "Acción social," 73, 89.

35. Ibid., 247–77.

36. Arenaza, *Sin memoria*, 24–25. Other sources on the center include Niklison, "Acción social," 266–69; *Caras y Caretas*, 25 Oct. 1919; Celina de Arenaza, private interviews, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 3, 15 July 1981. Occasionally the center is mentioned in *El Pueblo*.

37. *La Nación*, 12 Apr. 1921; *El Pueblo*, 15–16 Dec. 1919; Niklison, "Acción social," 270–73; Arenaza, interview, 15 July 1981.

38. Andrea, *Perturbación*, 165; Arenaza, interview, 3 July 1981; Archivo de *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, file no. 46948.

39. Comité Ejecutivo de la Gran Colecta Nacional, *La paz social* (Buenos Aires, 1919); *La Fronda*, Oct., Nov. 1919.

40. U.S. National Archives, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Argentina, 1910–1929, Ambassador Frederic J. Stimson to Secretary of State, Despatch no. 810, 8 May 1919, M514, 835.00/171. This number refers only to men, as the female brigades did not start to form until the end of May. My estimates are based on a survey of the minutes of the league's annual congresses from 1920 to 1927 and a study of the national press from 1919 to 1921. The league issued lists of its junta members, but it never issued full membership lists.

41. For a detailed account of the league and its social composition, see McGee, "Counterrevolution in Argentina," 121–237.

42. According to *La Nación*, 9 May 1921, there were 47 female brigades. My estimate is based on the same sources used for men, as indicated above in n. 40. The names of women active in the commission and the junta are given in the minutes of annual congresses, while the women who participated in the leadership of the teachers' brigades (which also included men) are named in *La Prensa*, 31 Jan., 10 Feb. 1920.

43. General information on the female brigades can be found in daily press releases in *La Prensa* and *La Fronda* from 1919 through the early 1930s. Sources for the study of league men include membership lists of prestigious organizations, cadastral maps, the *La Prensa* archive, and guides for organizations of landowners, stockbreeders, ranchers, and corporation executives. For a listing of these sources, see McGee, "Counterrevolution in Argentina," 349–51. Sources on the study of women's backgrounds include Lily Sosa de Newton, *Diccionario biográfico de mujeres argentinas*, 1st and 2d eds. (Buenos Aires, 1972, 1980); Archivo de *La Prensa*; *Album de oro de la mujer argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1939); *Libro de oro 1911, 1923, 1936, 1943* (Buenos Aires, 1911, 1923, 1936, 1943); Sociedad de Beneficiencia de la Capital, *Reseña sobre su organización y su obra, 1823–1942* (Buenos Aires, 1942); *Guía social Palma, 1929* (Buenos Aires, 1929); *Libro social 1929* (Buenos Aires, 1929); Sofía del Arca de del Campo, *Sociedad Damas de la Misericordia* (Buenos Aires, 1946); *Sociedad Conferencias de Señoras de San Vicente de Paúl (reseña histórica), 1864–1942* (Buenos Aires, 1942); Carlos Calvo, *Nobiliario del Antiguo Virreynato del Río de la Plata*, 8 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1936–43); consultations with Néstor Tomás Auza and José Luis de Imaz.

44. For example, 16 of the 45 *señoras* participated in this collection (Colecta Nacional, *La paz social*). Other sources used in this part of the study are listed in n. 43.

45. Juan de Dios Gallegos, in *Solemne homenaje de la Liga Patriótica Militar de Chile a la Liga Patriótica Argentina* (Santiago, 1922), 35.

46. Liga Patriótica Argentina, *Primer Congreso de Trabajadores* (Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1920), 101.

47. Comisión de Señoritas de la Liga Patriótica Argentina, *Sus escuelas de obreras en las fabricas* (Buenos Aires, 1922), 4.

48. Juan de Dios Gallegos, in *Solemne homenaje*, 18.

49. Comisión Central de Señoritas, *Memoria de 10 escuelas obreras, 1924–mayo–1925* (Buenos Aires, 1925), 9, 40–50.

50. For example, see Manuel Carlés, *Discurso pronunciado por el Dr. Manuel Carlés ante la honorable Sociedad de Beneficencia el 26 de mayo de 1919* (Buenos Aires, 1919), 6.

51. Manuel Carlés, in Liga Patriótica Argentina, *Octavo Congreso Nacionalista* (Buenos Aires: A. Baiocco, 1927), 57, and in Font, *La mujer*, 163.

52. Comisión de Señoritas, *Sus Escuelas*, 13.

53. Comisión Central de Señoritas, *Memoria de 10 escuelas obreras, 1927–mayo–1928* (Buenos Aires, 1928), 5.

54. *Solemne homenaje*, 18–29; Comisión de Señoritas, *Sus Escuelas*, 14; Brigada 19 del Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina, minutes of meetings, 28 Sept. 1927; and *La Fronda*, 12 Sept. 1920, offer examples of these activities.

55. Liga Patriótica Argentina, *Discursos pronunciados en el acto inagural y veredicto del Jurado de la Cuarta Exposición Nacional de Tejidos y Bordados* (Buenos Aires, 1923).

56. *La Protesta*, 29 Oct. 1919.

57. On the revolution of 1930 and the legion, see McGee, "Counterrevolution in Argentina," 277–85. On the legion's program, see Guillermo Gallardo, "Programa de la L. C. A.," *Bandera Argentina*, 23 Aug. 1932. I am indebted to Carlos Mayo for this reference.

58. *La Fronda*, 11 July 1931.

59. *La Prensa*, 17 June 1931.

60. *La Fronda*, 12 June, 15 July, 14, 19 Aug. 1931. Other activities were planned but I found no record of their establishment.

61. *La Nación*, 2 June 1931. No later figures are available.

62. These seventy-one names appeared in *La Fronda*, 12 June 1931. The biographical information comes from the sources used for the league. Another indication of the spread of right-wing ideology is the fact that more Italian names (suggesting recent immigrant origins) were found among members of the legion than among those of the league. Only 2 of the 71 had belonged to the league.

63. The contrast between men and women of the right is the theme of my work in progress. Also see Sandra F. McGee, "Metodología para el estudio de la participación de la mujer en la política de derechas" (Paper presented at the Segundas Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria sobre la Mujer, Madrid, Spain, 20 April 1982).

64. The differences between feminism and the right are also discussed in McGee, "Metodología." For examples of these feminist views, see the sources listed in note n. 18 above, and Primer Congreso Femenino Internacional de la República Argentina, 1910, *Historia, actas y trabajos* (Buenos Aires, 1911). I am indebted to Marifran Carlson for some suggestions on the differences between feminists and women of the right.

65. See, for example, Justo P. Correa, *La Capital*, 17 Jan. 1921; and Manuel Carlés, in Liga Patriótica Argentina, *Sexto Congreso Nacionalista de Trabajadores* (Buenos Aires: A. Baiocco, 1925), 45–46.

66. Arenaza, *Sin memoria*, 24–25.

9. The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission, 1857-1880: Class Relations/ Women's Relations

My thanks to Catherine Lawton, who in the night train from Paris to Toulouse helped me translate this essay, and to Patrick Winocour, who read and critiqued it. This research was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

1. According to the Charity Organization Society, there were several hundreds of them in 1880. See Charity Organization Society, *Charities Register and Digest* (London, 1882).

2. See F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in XIXth century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

3. These documents can be consulted at the Greater London Record Office.

4. Evidence of this knowledge can be seen in the title of the London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission magazine: *The Missing Link*.

5. "The publication of the religious Census of 1851 was an epoch in the history of religion in England. The impression produced by those statistical returns has never since been effaced. To this influence may be directly traced much of the vital force which the Church of Christ has since put forth for the evangelization of the people." "Religion in London," *Statistics of Church and Chapel Accommodation* (London, 1865): 2.

6. Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulations of Sexuality Since 1800* (London and New York: Longmans 1980).

7. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 127.
8. "Our Moral Wastes and Their Matrons," *The Missing Link* (London, 1859): 235–36.
9. "Ready to Perish," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1861): 249–50.
10. This type of document raises a number of methodological problems, particularly in view of the dependent and hierarchical relationship maintained between the persons concerned. Therefore such data must be used with the utmost care. In particular, one of the difficulties lies in the fact that the lady superintendent describes the work of the Biblewoman, occasionally giving extensive quotations from the latter's journal, which in turn quotes the remarks and statements of the women in her flock. The distance between the historian and the actual situations is obviously immense.
11. Octavia Hill, *Our Common Land* (London, 1877): 33.
12. See F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), chap. 7.
13. See Yves Barel, *La Reproduction sociale, système vivants invariance et changements* (Paris: Anthropos, 1973).
14. "The Handmaids of the Lord," *The Missing Link*, (London, 1860): 70.
15. "Sketches from Life in St. Giles's," *The Book and Its Mission* (London): 295.
16. See Catherine Hall, "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology," in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. Sandra Burman, (London: Croom Helm, 1979).
17. Françoise Basch, *Relative Creatures* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 8.
18. "Don't Take Her Away," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1862): 334–35.
19. Ibid., 232.
20. "The Watercress Girl's Dormitory," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 257.
21. "Ready to Perish," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1861): 250.
22. "Want of a Bible Mission in Bethnal Green," *The Missing Link* (London, 1859): 131.
23. "The Handmaids of the Lord," *The Missing Link* (London, 1860): 70.
24. "A Mission for Christian Ladies," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 232.
25. "Experience of a Yorkshire Colporteur," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 71.
26. "Limehouse Fields, Stepney," *The Missing Link* (London, 1859): 168.
27. *The Missing Link* (London, 1 Sept. 1880): 193.
28. "Want of a Bible Mission in Bethnal Green," *The Missing Link* (London, 1859): 123.
29. "Sketches of Life in St. Giles's," *The Book and Its Mission* (London): 295.
30. *The Missing Link* (London, 1 Feb. 1871): 41.
31. "Take One Street at a Time," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1861): 299.
32. *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1 Oct. 1862): 260.
33. "Walks in Drury Lane on New Year's Day," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1862): 32.
34. See Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Complaints and Disorders* (London: Compendium, 1974).
35. Not all women could muster this type of courage, as exemplified by Vida Levering's repartee in Elisabeth Robins, *The Convert* (1907; reprint, London: The Women's Press, 1980), 39: "The trouble is, I have no stomach. When you've lured me into one of those dingy alleys and that all-pervading greasy smell of poverty comes flooding into my face—well, simply all my most charitable feelings rise up in revolt. I want to hold my nose and hide my eyes, and call for the motor-car."
36. "Sketches of Life," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 289.
37. "More Female Bible Mission," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1862): 117.
38. Ibid., 281.
39. "Marian's Tea-party in St. Giles's," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 237.
40. "Sketches of Life," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1860): 293.
41. "How Wear The Missing Link," *The Missing Link, Tract n° III* (London, 1871): 44.
42. *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1 Sept. 1862): 232–33.
43. Ibid., 234.
44. "Ready to Perish," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1861): 248.
45. "Limehouse Fields, Stepney," *The Missing Link* (London, 1859): 164.
46. "Don't Take Her Away," *The Book and Its Mission* (London, 1862): 334.
47. "How Wear the Missing Link," *The Missing Link, Tract n° III* (London, 1871): 39.
48. Ibid., 40.
49. Ibid., 40.
50. Ibid., 41.

10. The Ethnological Mirror: American Evangelical Women and Their Heathen Sisters, 1870-1910

This chapter was previously published as an article entitled "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870–1910," *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (1982): 347-71; it is reprinted by permission.

1. "Petition of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the United States of America," *Woman's Work for Woman* 11 (Mar. 1896): 59–60; *New York Times*, 21 Jan. 1896, 5. The relationship between foreign missionary organizations and the development of the Women's Christian Temperance Union is presented in Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

2. *Woman's Work* 11 (Mar. 1896): 59; *New York Times*, 21 Jan. 1896, 5; ibid., 17 Feb. 1896, 4.

3. *New York Times*, 21 Jan. 1896, 5; *Woman's Work* 11 (Mar. 1896): 59.

4. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Mission for Life: The Story of the Family of Adoniram Judson* (New York: Free Press, 1980); Oliver Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* (Williamsport, Pa.: Williamsport Printing & Binding Co., 1928).

5. In anthropology the idea of antithetical other is associated with symbolic and structuralist approaches to cross-cultural comparisons, particularly in Claude Lévi-Strauss. For discussion of the continuities in cultural stereotyping in a single area, see: Bernard S. Cohn, "Notes on the History of the Study of Indian Society and Culture," in *Structure and Change in Indian Society*, ed. Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (New York: Viking, 1968), 3–28; and A. Leslie Wilson, *A Mythical Image: The Ideal of India In German Romanticism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964).

6. A seraglio is the portion of a Muslim house where women are secluded and is not unlike a Hindu zenana or a Muslim harem. Bagnio refers either to a brothel, a bathing house, or both. Suttee is the self-immolation of the Hindu widow on her husband's funeral pyre. Consecrated prostitution is defined on p. 122 below. Bastinado refers to an oriental mode of punishment, especially blows with a stick to the soles of the feet or buttocks.

7. It should be noted that elements of the missionary ethnology were incorporated in the work of anthropologists such as Alexander Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folk Thought: The Child in Primitive Culture* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1896); O. T. Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture* (New York: D. Appleton, 1894); Samuel Zwemer, *Childhood in Moslem World* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1915).

8. Evangelical women were not alone in using cross-cultural analysis. Feminists in the nineteenth century also employed cross-cultural information to argue that the subjection of women had no historical or universal validity precisely because it took different forms. This kind of thinking, which William Leach calls "cultural cosmopolitanism," led feminist reformers out of the evangelical churches and down a very different path than their religious sisters. William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 13. An important antebellum example of feminist attention to cross-cultural information is in Sarah M. Grimke, *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* (Boston, 1838), 27–45.

9. The best nineteenth-century summary of these organizational histories is Isabel Hart, *Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies in America and England* (Boston, 1879), which was published by Mrs. L. H. Daggett, subscription agent for *Heathen Woman's Friend* until 1882. Hart's information on their founding is confirmed by separate organizational histories and by the missionary magazines. In *Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910), 10, Helen Barrett Montgomery links the formation of these organizations to experiences in the Civil War.

10. Hart, *Historical Sketches*, 43.

11. See Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth Century America," *American Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1978): 624–38, for a discussion of the marital status of missionaries. Percentages of unmarried women are extracted from Hart's list of missionaries sponsored by women's organizations between the time of organizational origin and 1879. Hart, *Historical Sketches*, 31, 52–54, 107. In contrast, Welter charts the general move to women missionaries in this way: in 1830 females made up 49 percent of the missionary force; by 1893 women represented 60 percent. Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could," 632. See also Montgomery, *Western Women*, unpaged statistical table following p. 286; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 6.

12. The data presented here represent only the six major women's foreign mission groups. In 1910, at the time of Helen Barrett Montgomery's compilation of statistics on which this study is based, there

were at least thirty-five national or regional women's missionary organizations in the United States. See Montgomery, *Western Women*, unpaged statistical table following p. 286. I have excluded from consideration any outside the Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches as well as those within these churches that were not autonomous women's groups, e.g., Women's Missionary Auxiliary to the Southern Baptist Convention (1888). Typical of the denominational accounts of organizational growth are Frances J. Baker, *The Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1869–95* (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1898), or Mary Sparkes Wheeler, *The First Decade of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1883). Each of the denominations has an equivalent set of individual organizational histories. A somewhat broader approach was taken in 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition. The papers from the missionary congress were collected in E. M. Wherry, ed., *Women in Missions: Papers and Addresses Presented at the Woman's Congress of Missions* (New York: American Tract Society, 1894).

13. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 27 (July 1895): 20. *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (March 1869): 5, has the same theme; the Congregationalists, however, wrote about laying aside jewelry and other "superfluities" in life in order to keep the treasury of the society full. Typical of the 1890s appeal was the proposal in *Life and Light for Women*, 25 (June 1895): 271–72, suggesting that Christian "economizing" did not mean canceling the missionary magazine but rather balancing the demands of fashion, amusements, carfares, and charity.

14. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 2 (May 1871): 130–31; Montgomery, *Western Women*, 11–12. See Winthrop S. Hudson's biography of Montgomery in Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James and Paul S. Boyer, eds., *Notable American Women* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1971), 2:566–68.

15. The titles of these magazines often varied. *Life and Light for Women* (1869–1922) was known as *Life and Light for Heathen Women* until 1872. *Woman's Work for Women* (1871–85) joined with *Our Mission Field* to become *Woman's Work for Women and Our Mission Field* (1886–89); and *Woman's Work for Woman* (1890–1904) became *Woman's Work* in 1905. *The Helping Hand* (1842–1914) began as *Macedonian. The Heathen Woman's Friend* (1869–1940) became *Woman's Missionary Friend* in 1896. *Woman's Missionary Advocate* (1880–1910) retained its name throughout its publication. In addition to these magazines, there were children's magazines sponsored by the women's groups, e.g., the Presbyterian *Children's Work for Children* (1876–1893); the Congregationalist *Mission Dayspring* (1882–1913); the Baptist *Little Helpers* (1883–85); the Methodist *The Heathen Children's Friend*, also known as *Children's Missionary Friend* and *Junior Missionary Friend* (1890–1939), as well as at least one foreign language magazine that the Methodists published out of St. Louis, *Der Heiden-Frauen-Freund*, later *Der Frauen-Missions-Freund*, which first appeared in 1885.

16. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 38. See Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 64–68, 70–78, 219–21, for discussion of evangelical communications theory.

17. Circulation figures are extremely difficult to ascertain. *The Heathen Woman's Friend* had a circulation of 25,000 in 1872 and 22,000 in 1895. See Baker, *Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society*, 74–76.

18. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 5 (Aug. 1873): 510; ibid., 509; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 6; ibid. 1 (Dec. 1869): 132; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 13 (Aug. 1881): 39. For the history and structure of the Greater Federation of Women's Club, see Ellen M. Henrotin, "The Attitude of Women's Clubs and Associations Toward Social Economics," *Bulletin of the Department of Labor* 23 (July 1899): 501–45.

19. Baker, *Story of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society*, 75–76, uses the term "Uniform Study." The Methodist magazine lists "Study for the Month" in its table of contents. See *Woman's Missionary Friend* 27 (Apr. 1896): 289; ibid. 27 (May 1896): 318; ibid. 27 (June 1896): 349; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 13 (Aug. 1881): 38–39; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Dec. 1869): 132; ibid. 2 (Mar. 1870); 165–66; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 12 (Apr. 1881): 235. For a detailed pedagogical guide to foreign mission study for women's groups, see Helen Barrett Montgomery, *How to Use: A Handbook of Suggestions to Accompany the Text-book, Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910?). Montgomery was particularly fond of visual devices; for example, on p. 58, she describes a chart in pyramid form, which represented, in the form of colored blocks of varying lengths, the expenditures of American women. At the base, representing the largest amount, was candy, ($178 million), followed by ice cream sodas ($107 million), tea and coffee ($98 million), patent medicine ($75 million), jewelry ($60 million), chewing gum ($15 million), and, in the smallest category, foreign missions ($4 million). Montgomery reported on a number of techniques for demonstrating the possible resources of the churches for missionary work.

20. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 12 (Apr. 1881): 233; Lilly Ryder Gracey, *GIST: A Handbook of Missionary Information* (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1893), 12.

21. Gracey, *GIST*, 9–12.

22. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 45–46.

23. The relationship between evangelicalism and feminism is discussed in Brumberg, *Mission for Life*, 79–106.

24. Pundita Ramabai, quoted in Montgomery, *Western Women*, 58–59, 65, 47; *Life and Light for Women* 25 (Apr. 1895): 12; Montgomery, *Western Women*, 75–76.

25. Gracey, *GIST*, 33.

26. Mt. Holyoke Seminary was clearly the model for Congregational activity. See *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Sept. 1869): 85; ibid. (Mar. 1875): 156.

27. For ethnographic descriptions of the contemporary zenana and its place in the purdah system, see Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (June 1973): 289–325; Patricia Jeffrey, *Frogs in a Well: Indian Women in Purdah* (London: Zed Press, 1979); Elizabeth Wamock Fernea, *Guests of the Sheik: An Ethnography of an Iraqi Village* (New York: Doubleday, 1965). In *Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow, India* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 46–47, 50–51, 61–62, 64, Keith Hjortshoj touches on the zenana and the architecture of seclusion in Old Lucknow (pre-1856).

28. Gracey, *GIST*, 38; Evelyn Baring, first earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908) quoted in Montgomery, *Western Women*, 81–82.

29. Hart, *Historical Sketches*, 86–87.

30. The notion of separate spheres underlies all of the following: Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York 1790–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74; and "The Feminization of American Religion," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised*, ed. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 137–57.

31. *Heathen Woman's Friend*, 3 (Nov. 1871): 201.

32. I rely here on Lawrence Stone's conception of companionate marriage in *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 234–45, 262–63.

33. Gracey, *GIST*, 39–40; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 7–8; Gracey, *GIST*, 20–21; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 4 (May 1873): 12.

34. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 4 (May 1873) 453; *Woman's Missionary Friend* 29 (Apr. 1898): 313; *Life and Light for Women* 1 (June 1870): 191; ibid. 25 (Mar. 1895): 6.

35. In *Letters to Persons Who are Engaged in Domestic Service* (New York: Leavitt & Trow, 1842), 87–89, Catharine Beecher recommended explicitly that servants should eat in the kitchen and not with the family. See also Faye Dudden, "From Help to Domestics: American Servants, 1800–1880" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1981), 1–97; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Chimney Corner* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1871), 18.

36. Gracey, *GIST*, 53; *Life and Light for Women* 1 (June 1869): 53; ibid. 25 (Apr. 1895): 10; Gracey, *GIST*, 106, 113.

37. Gracey, *GIST*, 101; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 7–8.

38. Excerpted from official minutes of 1908 Foochow Woman's Conference and reported in Montgomery, *Western Women*, 78.

39. See Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 151–74; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America*, (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), 137–92; Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 75–94.

40. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 27 (Sept. 1895): 65.

41. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 53; *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 3 (Dec. 1813): 355–56.

42. See Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and The American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 140–46. Hansen quotes Senator Frederick T. DuBois (Idaho): "There was a universal detestation of polygamy, and inasmuch as the Mormons openly defended it we were given a very effective weapon with which to attack." Hansen, *Mormonism*, 145.

43. Gracey, *GIST*, 92–93.

44. *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 7–8; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 3 (Nov. 1871): 202; Montgomery, *Western Women*, 79–80. The report in *Heathen Woman's Friend* observed that so long as their in-laws are alive, women "exercise no influence."

45. George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), 16, 18; Ellen M. Henrotin, "The Social Status of American Women," in *The Social Status of European and American Women*, ed. Kate Byam Martin and Ellen M. Henrotin (Chicago: C. H. Kerr and Co., 1887), 38, asserted the matrilocal nature of American family life: "An English or Frenchwoman marries into her husband's family, while the American man marries into that of his wife." See also Marilyn Ferris Motz, "True Sisterhood: The Female Family in Nineteenth Century Michigan" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1981).

46. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1–29.

47. *Heathen Woman's Friend* 2 (May 1871): 122; ibid. 4 (Jan. 1873): 394. Grandmothers were often implicated in the rejection of superfluous female children: see *Heathen Woman's Friend* 27 (July 1895): 3.

48. *Woman's Missionary Friend* 29 (Oct. 1897): 112–13; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 4 (Jan. 1873): 402; ibid. 27 (July 1895): 13; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Sept. 1870): 223–24. A Natural Feet Society, founded in the 1890s by women missionaries and enlighted indigenous Chinese, received attention in the magazines.

49. Gracey, *GIST*, 122.

50. For a related analysis, see Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality" in *Woman, Culture and Society*, ed. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 43–66.

51. This perspective on women's organizational activity in the nineteenth century is clearly expressed in numerous addresses given by women at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. See May Wright Sewall, ed., *The World's Congress of Representative Women* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1894), xxiv, 15, 19, 37–38, 147–48, 258, 297.

52. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 65; the sale of "girls and women for all sorts of purposes" was mentioned in the magazines, for example, *Heathen Woman's Friend* 5 (Mar. 1874): 622.

53. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 60; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 2 (May 1871): 121; ibid. 4 (May 1873): 456; ibid. 5 (Mar. 1874): 624; ibid. 27 (July 1895): 3–4; *Life and Light for Women* 30 (Oct. 1900): 437; ibid. 30 (Mar. 1900): 109.

54. Abbie B. Child, "Hawaiian Girls," *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 2 (Mar. 1871): 44–45.

55. *Woman's Missionary Friend* 28 (Aug. 1896): 35.

56. Gracey, *GIST*, 20–21, reports that one woman destroyed seven female children by "her own hand." For general references to infanticide, see *Heathen Woman's Friend* 3 (Nov. 1871): 198–99; *Woman's Missionary Friend* 27 (June 1896): 332; Gracey, *GIST*, 34; *Life and Light for Women* 10 (Apr. 1880): 122–23. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 47–48, also reports that in addition to female infanticide, girls committed suicide in groups, rather than consent to early marriages. Among feminist reformers, Elizabeth Cady Stanton is known for her defense of Hester Vaughn, accused of infanticide in 1868. See Alma Lutz, *Created Equal* (New York: John Day Co., 1940), 162–63.

57. Montgomery, *Western Women*, 62, estimates close to 400,000 under fifteen years of age. Gracey, *GIST*, 41, presents the estimate of Pundita Ramabai: 667,000 widows below the age of nineteen.

58. Gracey, *GIST*, 41–42; *Life and Light for Women* 30 (Mar. 1900): 97–100.

59. *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Sept. 1869): 87; *Heathen Woman's Friend* 3 (Nov. 1871): 198–99; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Sept. 1869): 87; *Woman's Missionary Friend* 27 (June 1896): 346.

60. *Life and Light for Women* 30 (Mar. 1900): 101; Montgomery, *Western Women*, 56; *Life and Light for Heathen Women* 1 (Mar. 1869): 88.

61. The median age of marriage for all classes in 1900 was 21.9; see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976) 1: 19. By 1901 girls accounted for 60 percent of the high school graduates in the United States, ibid. 1: 379. On the decline in domestic service among middle-class native-born daughters, see Dudden, "From Help to Domestics," 79–84; David Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 46, 73; Carol Groneman, "Working-Class Immigrant Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century New York," *Journal of Urban History* 4 (May 1978): 255–73.

62. Gracey, *GIST*, 53–54.
63. *Life and Light for Women* 30 (Oct. 1900): 437.
64. *Woman's Missionary Friend* 28 (Aug. 1896): 43.
65. *Life and Light for Women* 30 (Mar. 1900): 109.
66. Quoted in Montgomery, *Western Women*, 77.
67. *Woman's Missionary Friend* 29 (Oct. 1897): 113; Gracey, *GIST*, 11.
68. Ernest May, *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 187–89. Although May found religious support for imperialistic ventures, as demonstrated in sermons, women's religious organizations he all but ignored.
69. *New York Times*, 3 Mar. 1896, 1; *New York Times*, 19 June 1899, 7; L. B. Leonard to William McKinley, 6 Sept. 1898, Records of Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Commission on Archives and History Library, United Methodist Church, Lake Junaluska, N.C.
70. Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963).
71. Alice Hamilton, *Exploring the Dangerous Trades* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943), 54.
72. See Lu Wheat, *The Third Daughter* (Los Angeles: Oriental Publishing Company, 1906); Jennie Beckingsale, *Pomegranate: The Story of a Chinese Schoolgirl* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1910); Yang Ping Yu, *The Love Story of a Maiden of Cathay* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1911).
73. See *Ladies Home Journal* 16 (Apr. 1899): 7; ibid. 18 (Aug. 1901): 14; Wu Ting-fang, "My Impressions of American Women," *Ladies Home Journal* 19 (Jan. 1902): 14. It should be noted that both Jane Addams and Florence Kelley wrote, on occasion, for *Ladies Home Journal*. See Jane Addams, "When Youth Seeks a Mate," *Ladies Home Journal* 26 (Nov. 1909): 22; Florence Kelley, "Why Working-Girls Fall Into Temptation," ibid., 15–16.
74. See Flora Annie Steel, *The Flower of Forgiveness* (London: W. Heinemann, 1900). On Steel herself (1847–1929), see Daya Patwardhan, *A Star of India: Flora Annie Steel, Her Works and Times* (Poona, India: A. V. Griha Prakashan, 1963); and J. R. H. Weaver, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography (1922–30)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 809–10. Steel was the author of *On the Face of the Waters* (New York: Macmillan, 1897), which was a best seller in the late 1890s.
75. For some the popular conventions of the missionary ethnology provided a departure for critical scholarly and artistic works. See, for example, Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Old Fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies About the Sex* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), which is an anthropologist's attempt to negate the power of the religious ethnology by stressing continuities, rather than differences, in the treatment of women cross-culturally. In Edwin R. A. Seligman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930–35), 3:395–97, Ruth Benedict offered a professional anthropological view of child marriage, observing that the popular emphasis on prepubertal sexual relations among non-Christians distorted the complexity and variety of child marriage arrangements. Benedict was clear to point out that the existence of child marriage did not necessarily imply low status for women, as evangelicals believed. Also interesting is D. W. Griffith's film *Broken Blossoms* (1919), which depends upon the viewer's prior familiarity with the missionary ethnology in order to understand the "missionary-in-reverse" scenario.
76. The campaign against child marriage is related to, but not the same as, the effort to raise the age of consent. See David J. Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), 139–46.
77. Arthur W. Towne, "Young Girl Marriages in Criminal and Juvenile Courts," *Journal of Social Hygiene* 8 (July 1922): 287–90. Towne was superintendent of the Brooklyn (New York) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. See also Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *Child Marriages* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1925), 20, 45–54; and Women's Protective Association of Cleveland, Ohio, *School-Girl Brides: A Study of the Ohio Marriage Laws Relating to Minors* (Cleveland, 1926), 34–37. For a eugenicist taking a different point of view, see Paul Popenoe, "Early Marriage and Happiness," *Journal of Social Hygiene* 12 (Dec. 1926): 544–49.
78. Richmond and Hall, *Child Marriages*, 57. This figure is apparently inflated. See Thomas P. Monahan, *The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States* (Philadelphia: Stephenson Brothers, 1951), 47.
79. Richmond and Hall, *Child Marriages*, 92.
80. Ruth Reed, *The Modern Family* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), 12. Child marriage was a subject of interest and concern in the sociological writing of the period. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *Social Freedom* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 33; Willystine Goodsell, *Problems of the Family*

(New York: Century Co., 1928), 129; Ernest R. Groves, *Marriage* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1933), 124–31; Ray Baber, *Marriage and the Family* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), 114–15, 175–78. Unlike the earlier missionary ethnologists, sociologists linked child marriage to the rising divorce rate. The cry for more uniform marriage laws was generally based on an analysis of legislation. See Fred S. Hall and Elisabeth W. Brooke, *American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspect* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1919); and G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904).

81. Richmond and Hall, *Child Marriages*, 110, 147.

82. In the 1980s the evangelical community continues to adhere to the notion that a truly Christian state protects women, children, and the family. This kind of thinking is evidenced in the Laxalt bill, alternatively known as the Family Protection Act. Moreover, the opposition of the evangelical right to the Equal Rights Amendment is based on the notion that the ERA would remove protections from vulnerable women.

11. "My Spirit Eye": Some Functions of Spiritual and Visionary Experience in the Lives of Five Black Women Preachers, 1810–1880

1. Jean McMahon Humez, *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 154; and Jarena Lee, *The Life and Religious Experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee . . .*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Jarena Lee, 1849), 97.

2. The most important histories of the AME church to date are: Daniel Alexander Payne's *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1891); and Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Rise of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). Also see Daniel Alexander Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville, Tenn.: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1888; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968); Charles Spencer Smith, *The History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1922), vol. 2; Henry V. Richardson, *Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism as It Developed among Blacks in America* (New York: Doubleday, 1976); and David W. Wills and Richard Newman, eds., *Black Apostles at Home and Abroad: Afro-Americans and the Christian Mission from the Revolution to Reconstruction* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981). According to George, "only male members voted for delegates to the General Conference, while the entire congregation was consulted on matters dealing with the sale or alteration of church property" (*Segregated Sabbaths*, 107). After the Baltimore conference of 1826, only licensed clergy, as opposed to unlicensed preachers or lay members, could speak or vote at conferences (p. 111). Though women attended these clerical conferences, they had no formal role.

3. For interesting recent discussions of the struggles of the AME women preachers with the clerical hierarchy over the right to preach, see Jualynne Dodson, "Preaching A. M. E. Women: Cutting Edge of Organizational Change for Women" (forthcoming from General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church); David W. Wills, "Womanhood and Domesticity in the A. M. E. Tradition: The Influence of Daniel Alexander Payne," in *Black Apostles*, ed. Wills and Newman, 133–46; and Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 311–27.

4. The five autobiographies on which this chapter is based are: *Elizabeth: A Colored Minister of the Gospel, Born in Slavery* (Philadelphia: Tract Association of Friends, 1889); Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*; Humez, *Gifts of Power*; Julia A. J. Foote, *A Brand Plucked from the Fire: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Cleveland: Julia A. J. Foote, 1886); and Amanda Berry Smith, *An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith, the Colored Evangelist* (Chicago: Meyer, 1893). No attempt has been made in this study to compare the experiences of these AME women with those of either black or white women of the same period in other Methodist churches, such as the Methodist Episcopal (ME), Colored Methodist Episcopal, Free Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, or African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches. Similarly, it was not possible to compare women's religious autobiographies with men's in any systematic way.

5. A useful discussion of the psychological impact of slavery on slaves, and their strategies for combating its most demoralizing effects, is found in John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), which is based on extensive use of slave autobiographies. Though he deals with deep South slavery, many of his points about the limits on the power of the slaveholder and the role of religion in the slave's struggle for autonomy are applicable to the situations discussed in these autobiographies, as well.

6. Smith, *Autobiography*, 19–23.

7. Only Jarena Lee spoke of parents "wholly ignorant of the knowledge of God" (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 3).

8. Foote, *Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 15.

9. Smith, *Autobiography*, 27.

10. See Foote, *Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 27, and Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 10–11. Jackson referred to herself as "the only child of my mother that had not learning" (p. 107) and envied the education of her older brother, the AME local preacher Joseph Cox, who was not merely literate, but relatively well read, according to Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 177–78.

11. See Smith, *Autobiography*, 57–62, and Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 13–14. Smith is explicit about her "disappointed hopes" in her marriage. Lee merely indicates that after the "great trial" of her first year of marriage, when she was "discontented" and unsuccessfully urged her husband to return to Philadelphia, she learned submission from a visionary dream.

12. Foote, *Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 59.

13. For the efforts of the wives to convert their husbands to a belief in Holiness, see Foote, *Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 48–49, 51, and Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 78–79. Foote's husband made arrangements to have half his pay available to her when he was at sea (pp. 60–61). Jackson wrote retrospectively about her decision to "withdraw from my husband in all carnal pleasure" after her 1831 sanctification (p. 265); yet she felt it her duty to "be kind to him, keep him cleaned up, and prepare his victuals cleanly and neat, and do anything I could to make him comfortable" until 1836, when she received her "release from bondage" (p. 147).

14. Jackson's brother Joseph apparently trained as a tanner (Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 265) and also was a local elder and preacher at the Philadelphia Bethel AME Church. Her stepfather was a sailor (p. 240), and her own husband's occupation is not specified. Lee's husband was a clergyman. Foote's brother and husband were both sailors. Smith married a man she hoped would be a clergyman, but he ultimately became a skilled coachman in New York (*Autobiography*, 71). For a breakdown of the occupations available to free black women in Philadelphia in 1848, see W. E. B. DuBois, "History of the Occupations of Negroes," in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899; reprint, New York: Schocken, 1967), 141–43.

15. The belief in the possibility of attaining to a sinless state in life characterized nineteenth-century American Holiness Methodists. As early as 1819 in New York, groups of Methodists had organized prayer meetings "composed only of such as have experienced the blessing of perfect love, or those truly awakened to feel the necessity of it and who are steadily seeking for clean hearts," according to Timothy L. Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millenial Vision in America, 1800–1900," *American Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 25. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s the Holiness doctrine produced controversy and sometimes schism within Methodism while attracting the attention of non-Methodist evangelicals as well. For a discussion of white women's participation in the Holiness movement, see Nancy Hardesty, Lucille Sider Dayton, and Donald W. Dayton, "Women in the Holiness Movement: Feminism in the Evangelical Tradition," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 226–54.

16. Though John Wesley was the originator of the doctrine, he did not himself profess holiness and thought of it as a rare experience, which some might hope to attain at the end of a long life of striving. But by the middle of the nineteenth century in America, it was assumed by many that "sanctification" was the next step up after "justification," available to any sincere believer who knew how to seek it. Both Smith and Foote referred to being erroneously taught that sanctification rarely happened except in old age. Smith described the difference between the two blessings as being like the difference between moonlight and sunlight (*Autobiography*, 105–6).

17. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 72.

18. I have suggested elsewhere that some of the earliest dream accounts by Jackson, as well as her phobia about lightning, which she conquered in her conversion, indicate deep feelings of vulnerability to physical attack and destruction. These may be related to the increasing white hostility toward free blacks in Philadelphia, which was to explode in a series of white mob attacks on black neighborhoods in the 1830s and 1840s. See Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 13–16.

19. Smith, *Autobiography*, 27.

20. Ibid., 28.

21. Ibid., 47.

22. Ibid., 80.

23. Smith proudly asserted her joy in blackness at several junctures in her *Autobiography*, once in response to a white person's assumption that she must wish she were white: "No, we who are the royal black are very well satisfied with His gift to us in this substantial color" (p. 117). She also records disgust at the hypocrisy of a white woman who sat beside her, fidgeting, at the Palmer Holiness meeting until she realized it was Amanda Smith, "and then said she was honored. . . . I looked at her and pitied her, but felt sick!" (p. 119). But she also candidly records many instances of racially related fears after sanctification. See pp. 157, 161, 175, 190, 193, 196–98, 211, 228, 233, 238–39.

24. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 50.

25. Ibid., 50.

26. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 76–77.

27. For instances of Jackson's surrounding herself with the divine power as a kind of invisible wall that kept anyone from touching her, see Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 77, 148. She also displayed her more than natural invulnerability to pain while in religious ecstacy, by touching a hot stove after her sanctification. Her husband "expected every time I laid my hands on the stove to see the skin come off on the stove" (p. 77).

28. Smith, *Autobiography*, 62.

29. As Smith put it, "I would talk to my husband, but he had no sympathy with holiness. He had had advantages far above me, and was far more intelligent. He would always want to argue on this subject, and I could not keep up on that line and it would throw me back, so I told the Lord one day if He would send James away somewhere till I got the blessing he would never get it away again, but that he hindered me from getting it" (*Autobiography*, 70–71). When James was offered a coach-driving position in New Utrecht, "he went and wanted me to go, but having a right young baby I said, 'No, James, I have got some nice families' washing in, and you go and try till spring. . . .' But no, I must go right away. I reasoned every way I could, but he was determined I should go. At last I said, 'James, I am afraid to go; you have done me so bad right here where I have just begun to get used to the people, and know how to turn around, and what will it be if I go there out in the country, no church near, and a stranger, and if I give up my washing what will I do? I can help myself a little now'" (p. 71). Afterwards she told her husband about the blessing, and "'when I got through he began his old argument.' I said, 'Now, my dear, you know I can't argue.' 'Oh, well,' he said, 'If you have got something you can't talk about, I don't believe in it'" (p. 84).

30. "Gifts of power" include instances of control over the weather—as when Jackson and Smith were able to avert rainstorms or windstorms by prayer, or when Jackson accurately predicted the melting of a frozen river in February so that she could go by boat to a place where she was expected to preach. See Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 96–99, 158–60, and Smith, *Autobiography*, 158. There are also instances in both Jackson's and Smith's writings of control exercised over potentially malevolent or threatening human behavior. For example, Jackson "binds" her companions to silence when she thinks they will speak against the Shakers, whom she recognizes as "the true people of God" (p. 140). Smith recounted a time when her husband's son-in-law was cursing her, and "there seemed to come an indescribable power over me, and I turned and lifted my hand toward him, and I said to him, 'Mind, John Bentley, the God that I serve will make you pay for this before the year is out.' He said, 'Well I don't care if He does. Let Him do it.' He had not more than said the words when he seemed to tremble and stagger. There was a chair behind him, and he dropped down into the chair. I never saw him from that day. This was about two weeks before Christmas, and before the New Year came, John Bentley was dead and buried" (pp. 94–95).

31. Jarena Lee recorded harassment by "10 or 11 white men" who challenged her credentials, though unsuccessfully (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 36); coming back by boat from Canada to Detroit in 1834, Lee saw what she described in veiled terms as "some of the American affliction toward the people of color, such as mobbing, theft and destruction" (p. 71). Elizabeth, speaking in Maryland, must have offended slaveholders' sensibilities in speaking "from the passage, 'Woe to the rebellious city.' . . . After the meeting, people came where I was, to take me before the squire; but the Lord delivered me from their hands" (*Elizabeth*, 10). When Rebecca Jackson told her brother she was called to preach, he predicted that she would be put in jail, apparently for traveling as an unaffiliated woman preacher (Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 129), and she recorded a number of instances when she was threatened with violence, but protected by divine aid (a furious dog stilled, p. 110; mob violence threatened against a camp meeting, p. 113; fifty men threatening to tear her in pieces, p. 154). Smith's fear of the Ku Klux Klan almost prevented her from going to the camp meeting of 1872 in Knoxville, Tennessee (pp. 205–7).

32. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 89.

33. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 145–46.

34. Ibid., 96.
35. Ibid., 107–8.
36. Ibid., 147.
37. *Elizabeth*, 5.
38. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 17.
39. The ministries of Jackson and Smith, in particular, led them to speak frequently before virtually all-white groups, at least for portions of their careers. Foote and Lee documented many occasions of speaking before mixed-race groups. One time Foote declined to speak to white Methodists who "did not want the colored people to attend the meeting." On another occasion, her ministry caused white Methodists to open "their house for the admission of colored people for the first time" (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 101, 103).
40. Smith's reference to her reputation as a "white folks' nigger" occurred when she described the financial difficulties brought on her by the partial gift of a house by white religious associates (*Autobiography*, 232). Frequently, when she wanted to attend a certain camp meeting but had no money, Smith would pray to receive money, as a sign that it was the divine will she should go: "And now, Lord, I ask thee for this evidence. If it is thy will for me to go, put it into somebody's heart to get me fifty dollars" (p. 206).
41. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 99–100.
42. Elizabeth came closest to implying that learning often actually interfered with a person's ability to be guided by the Spirit. She made a frontal attack on the "elders" who "came out with indignation for my holding meetings contrary to discipline—being a woman. . . . Thus we see when the heart is not inspired, and the inward eye enlightened by the Spirit, we are incapable of discerning the mystery of God in these things. Individuals creep into the church that are unregenerate, and after they have been there awhile, they fancy that they have got the grace of God, while they are destitute of it. They may have a degree of light in their heads, but evil in their hearts; which makes them very busy in matters of religion, judging of the revelations that are given to others, while they have received none themselves. Being thus mistaken, they are calculated to make a great deal of confusion in the church, and clog the true ministry" (*Elizabeth*, 9).
43. *Elizabeth*, 10.
44. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 9.
45. Smith, *Autobiography*, 148.
46. Julia Foote had refused the call several times, even after a visionary angel presented her with a scroll saying, "Thee have I chosen to preach my Gospel without delay" (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 66). On one occasion she promised to obey, but then immediately thought, "I am elected to preach the Gospel without the requisite qualifications, and, besides, my parents and friends will forsake me and turn against me; and I regret that I made a promise" (p. 68). She was finally led by a "supernatural presence" into a visionary trance in which she saw the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Father made it plain that she would be damned if she refused. She promised obedience, was "washed" by Christ, feasted on visionary fruit, and was given a letter written by Christ, and told, "Put this in your bosom, and, wherever you go, show it, and they will know that I have sent you to proclaim salvation to all." When she woke, her friends helped her understand that the "letter of authority" of her vision "was to be shown in [her] life, instead of in [her] hand." She was then able to stand up to the "sneering" of her minister, replying, "I can no longer be shaken by what you or any one else may think or say" (pp. 68–70).
47. See Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 16. Amanda Smith recorded many explicit struggles between good and bad internal voices or impulses, always calling the voice of temptation "Satan." She was tempted to doubt the truth of her conversion (*Autobiography*, 49); Satan tempted her not to pursue sanctification in the way suggested by God's voice, but she caught Satan in a lie (p. 73); she even had delusive visions that represented temptation to disobey God, as when she was almost kept from sanctification by imagining that her daughter had dropped her baby at home (p. 75). After her sanctification Satan also tempted her to worry about whether her sanctification was authentic (p. 82), to lose her joy (p. 92), to worry about the contempt of whites (p. 96), to resist her call to preach for fear of public opinion (p. 134), and to cling to her friend Sister Scott instead of to God (pp. 139–40). After recording this last traumatic incident, she wrote, "I seem to be able to know him when he approaches, no matter in what shape he comes."
48. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 85.
49. Ibid., 9.
50. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 55. Julia Foote also appealed by letter to an AME

conference for vindication against clerical oppression, though without success (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 75–76).

51. Rebecca Jackson, whose ministry was among the most threatening, both because she refused to join any church and because she taught that celibacy was a necessary prerequisite to Holiness, provoked violent anger from three Methodist clergymen in the mid-1830s: "One said I ought to be stoned to death, one said tarred and feathered and burnt, one said I ought to be put in a hogshead, driven full of spikes, and rolled down hill" (Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 149).

52. Foote, *Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 72–74.

53. Smith, *Autobiography*, 198–204. Smith's experiences in the late 1860s, both with clergy who opposed women preachers and with those who opposed the doctrine of sanctification, suggest some of the methods employed to undermine women who professed and preached Holiness. For example, one clergyman ridiculed professors of sanctification from the pulpit: "Especially on Sunday nights, when the church would be crowded, he would take especial pains to tell some ridiculous inconsistency about some sanctified sister or brother that he used to know. Then, if a sister, he would say, 'They put on a plain bonnet and shawl and wear a long face, but they are sanctified devils.' Then all eyes would be turned on Sister Scott and myself, for we were about the only ones that dressed in the way described" (pp. 109–10). But according to Julia Foote, writing in the late 1870s, times were much easier then than in the early days, for both professors of Holiness and women preachers: "Dear sisters, who are in the evangelistic work now, you may think you have hard times; but let me tell you, I feel that the lion and lamb are lying down together, as compared with the state of things twenty-five or thirty years ago" (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 89). And by the late 1890s Smith wrote: "Most [AME clergy] believe in the ordination of women, and I believe some have been ordained" (p. 204).

54. Petitions to AME general conferences asking that women be given the right to preach as officially sanctioned (but unordained)—or "licensed"—clergy were presented in 1844, 1848, and 1852. The question of women preachers organizing their own itinerant networks and controlling preaching appointments was brought to the 1850 annual conference in Philadelphia. Their petitions were denied. An editorial denying the right of women to preach, on the grounds of their physical and mental inferiority, and the maleness of Christ, the Apostles, and the most famous founders of Protestantism and Methodism, appeared in the AME denominational organ, *The Christian Recorder*, in 1852; see Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 237, 273, 301. For further documentation of this mid-century struggle, see Smith, *History of the A. M. E. Church* 2: 21, 415, 422. Sporadic efforts continued to be made throughout the latter half of the century to get the national conference to sanction women preachers, but these were turned back by the majority of clergymen attending. See the 1864 and 1888 general conference records in Smith, *History of the A. M. E. Church* 2: 159, 476, 487. For a fuller review of the evidence on the organizational response to the challenge brought by women preaching, see Dodson, "Preaching A. M. E. Women."

55. Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 105.

56. The "appropriate spheres" doctrine was part of the rationale for denying women the right to preach and was reported in a *Christian Recorder* editorial, reprinted in Payne, *History of the A. M. E. Church*, 301. For a very useful discussion of the contribution of Bishop Payne to the developing cult of domesticity of the late nineteenth-century church, beginning in the 1840s, see Wills, "Womanhood and Domesticity in the A. M. E. Tradition," in *Black Apostles*, ed. Wills and Newman, pp. 133–46.

57. The practices Payne singled out to characterize in this way were the "ring-shout" and "spiritual songs" associated with the "singing and praying bands," which he claimed were considered "the essence of religion" by the "ignorant masses" and therefore tolerated by some AME ministers. See Payne, *History of the A. M. E. Church*, 235, 453, and Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, 77, 93, 253–56, for glimpses of his hard-line position on some of these practices and the spirited opposition he aroused in his efforts to suppress them.

58. That the opposition to professors of Holiness came at least partly from upwardly-mobile and highly class-conscious members of the AME membership and clergy is suggested in both Payne's writings and Amanda Smith's. Perhaps most revealing of the class divisions within the AME community from Amanda Smith's perspective was her dream of finding herself in a churchlike place, where "there were seated three very stylishly dressed colored ladies and several finely dressed colored gentlemen. . . . I thought they looked at me with a scowl of contempt on their faces as they eyed my dress from head to foot. Then they began to make remarks. I felt that they didn't want me in there; but I bowed to them and tried to be pleasant. They hardly noticed me. How cut I felt." Going out on the veranda, she had a vision of a "mighty arm" coming from the heavens, and "I wanted these persons to see it, but I did not dare ask them, so I moved and tried to get their attention by pulling my dress,

thinking to attract them. They laughed, but did not come" (*Autobiography*, 145–46). After finishing her account of the visionary dream, Smith pointed to the moral: "I had much to suffer, in and with my own people—for human nature is the same in black and white folks. They oppose the doctrine of personal holiness, so do white people; but God has a remnant among the old, and some of the young, both preachers and laymen, that believe and know the truth of this doctrine" (p. 146). Even as early as the 1840s, "sanctification" was associated in the minds of some AME leaders with an unprogressive attitude, even willful ignorance. Payne recounted that when "note singing" was introduced into the Philadelphia Bethel AME Church in 1842, "many of the 'old people,' particularly some aged sisters who professed sanctification, were so greatly offended that, saying 'the devil has got into the church,' they left Bethel and never returned to her communion" (*History of the A. M. E. Church*, 453). Payne himself supported this change from congregational singing alone to the use of a choir, proudly defending the choir as "made up of some of the most intelligent and devoted Christians in the church" (p. 453).

Undoubtedly many men were also critics of the new emphasis on formal education and "respectable" and "refined" behavior in worship—for example, Amanda Smith's father was "old fashioned, and did not like some of the new methods in the church, such as fairs and festivals and the like; so that in speaking against these things, and not in the mildest Spirit, I fear, he offended the pastor of the church he belonged to; it was the African Zion Church, called Big Wesley, in Philadelphia. . . . He was a class leader, but he had incurred the displeasure of the pastor and the people mostly; so things got to be very unpleasant, and his spirit got sour and he left the church" (p. 63).

59. Jarena Lee received Allen's personal support during the 1820s, which undoubtedly helped her get appointments to preach in Philadelphia AME churches despite "a spirit of opposition . . . among the people against the propriety of female preaching" (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 32). She also traveled on occasion with Allen and other AME leaders. Amanda Smith named the exceptional AME clergymen who supported women's right to preach: Rev. Henry Davis, James Holland, Joshua Woodland, Joseph H. Smith, and Leonard Patterson (*Autobiography*, 132).

60. Methodist classes contained about twelve people under a leader appointed by the pastor, who was also responsible for collecting offerings. Praying bands or band societies consisted of "two, three, or four believers who have confidence in each other," and were generally of one sex. Rebecca Jackson's mother had belonged to a praying band (Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 133), and they were still in existence as late as the 1912 edition of the *A. M. E. Doctrine and Discipline*. This points to a long, vital tradition of female mutual support groups throughout AME history. Amanda Smith and Rebecca Jackson both described band meetings as led alternately by two women coleaders. Smith wrote: "We generally took turns about; one would open by giving out a hymn, reading a chapter, and then praying. Then we would tell each other our joys or sorrows, our victories and defeats, if we had any, and if Satan had buffeted us, how we bore up or if we yielded under the pressure, etc; and then we would advise each other and pray for each other" (*Autobiography*, 143). Also see Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 103–7.

61. Smith, *Autobiography*, 90, 143.

62. Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal*, 13.

63. Lee's defense occurred after describing how Allen discouraged her from pursuing an evangelistic career when she first approached him on the subject. She argued that Mary was the first preacher, since she brought the news of the Resurrection. "But some will say that Mary did not expound the Scripture, therefore, she did not preach, in the proper sense of the term. To this I reply, it may be that the term *preach* in those primitive times, did not mean exactly what it is now *made* to mean; perhaps it was a great deal more simple then, than it is now—if it were not, the unlearned fishermen could not have preached the gospel at all, as they had no learning" (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 10–11). See also Julia Foote's chap. 20, "Women in the Gospel," where, after listing notable women prophets and ministers alluded to in New Testament texts, she wrote: "When Paul said, 'Help those women who labor with me in the Gospel,' he certainly meant that they did more than to pour out tea'" (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 77–80).

64. Lee was particularly generous in praising the work of other women speakers she met and worked with. For example, a woman she met in Baltimore "spoke much in the spirit of God; deportment graceful, and her ideas in Scripture were very correct" (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 61). Another time, "I took a journey with a sister preacher for about two or three weeks, and truly the Lord blessed her labors abundantly, and my heart rejoiced to witness the out-pouring of the Spirit of that Gospel visit with a HandMaiden of the Lord" (p. 63). Foote candidly admitted that before her own call, "I had always been opposed to the preaching of women, and had spoken against it, though, I acknowledge, without foundation" (*Brand Plucked from the Fire*, 67). Once in the situation herself, however, she learned firsthand "of the difficulties they had to encounter, both from professors and non-

professors" (p. 67). She met three other women preachers at an AME conference in the early 1840s, who, like herself, "had met with more opposition from ministers than any one else." She "proposed to these sisters to procure a place and hold a series of meetings," which they did, despite the "ridicule" of some clergymen who "attended our meetings and occasionally asked us if we were organizing a new Conference" (p. 82). Smith wrote approvingly of the fact that some AME women were being ordained in the 1890s, even though she herself did not seek ordination (*Autobiography*, 204).

65. It would seem that the woman preacher could expect to be accused of unwomanly sexuality, whether she took to the road alone or with another woman. James S. Tinney noted of a later period that "the long-standing practice of women preachers living together and postering in pairs . . . in Pentecostalism . . . created an often-vocalized belief among male preachers that the Pentecostal women preachers were closeted lesbians." See "The Feminist Impulse in Black Pentecostalism," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* (forthcoming). Interestingly enough, Smith added after mentioning this accusation against the lone woman itinerant, "I thought of several that I knew who had gone out and really did get married, after a time; but what business was that to the old Accuser?" (*Autobiography*, 134–35).

66. See Humez, *Gifts of Power*, 23–24, for my argument that the Jackson-Perot relationship was a kind of marriage of minds, based on shared values, that helped make heterosexual relationships unnecessary for either woman. In the case of Amanda Smith's relationship with Sister Scott, the case is less clear, in part because the relationship ended so abruptly and unhappily. Smith called Scott "a deeply pious woman, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, and . . . greatly crushed in her home life, like myself." During the time Smith spent a year in New Jersey, Scott's marital problems came to a head, and he threatened to kill her. When Scott contemplated moving out, Smith wrote to her advising her to stay and demonstrate the strength of "sanctifying grace." Scott did not take her advice, and when Smith returned, she realized that it was the end of the friendship. Though Smith did not express overtly any guilty feelings about having misadvised her friend, the intensity of her suffering may suggest that she was no longer sure she had done the right thing. For a good recent discussion of the need to document the variety and range of women's relationships with each other in the past, in order to place lesbian relationships more accurately within specific historical contexts, see Leila J. Rupp, "Imagine My Surprise: Women's Relationships in Historical Perspective," *Frontiers*, 5, no. 3 (1981): 61–70.

67. Smith, *Autobiography*, 135–39.

68. For example, Lee "had an interview with a lady, who informed me she had a call to preach the everlasting gospel of Christ. She was a Presbyterian by profession; and she told me she feared the church government. But the greatest objection was, her husband was a Deist by profession" (*Religious Experience and Journal*, 56). On another occasion, when Lee took a "zealous" female speaker into the pulpit with her, she learned that "she was a teacher in the Sabbath school, at which place she often took occasion to extend her usefulness in speaking for the cause of God, for which she suffered much opposition, even from her husband; although he was a Preacher of the Gospel, she encountered severe trials" (p. 61).

69. *Elizabeth*, 7.

70. Smith, *Autobiography*, 103.

12. City Mothers, City Daughters, and the Dance Hall Girls: The Limits of Female Political Power in San Francisco, 1913

1. Mary B. Ritter, "The Social Evil and Its Prevention," *Federation Courier* 2 (1910): 16–18. Washington, with its suffrage victory of 1910, was the first state to win the vote in the twentieth century, California the second. This chapter is concerned only with the campaign against social evil in San Francisco; however, the clubwomen of California also sponsored three acts of legislation in 1913, the first time the state legislature met after women won the vote. The three acts were the Redlight Injunction and Abatement Act, whose purpose was to close brothels; the Age of Consent bill; and the Health Certificate for Marriage bill, which required all applicants for a marriage license to have a certificate from a physician that verified that they were free from venereal disease. The first two acts passed in 1913. San Francisco was the center of the California campaign against the social evil in part because Los Angeles "closed" its segregated vice district in 1909 following a political scandal.

2. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 177; Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1959): 195–216.

3. Katharine Philips Edson, "Woman's Influence on State Legislation," *California Outlook* 14 (14 June 1913): 7–8. An excellent illustration of organized women enforcing the single standard in San Francisco is found in their efforts to close the Municipal Clinic, whose function was to certify prostitutes were free of venereal disease. During the short two-year life of the clinic, from 1911 to 1913, the women were adamant that if a municipal clinic must exist, it should examine men as well as women. In fact, one of the reasons given by the mayor and the police commission for closing the clinic was that it was discriminatory, requiring only the examination of women. The head of the clinic, Julius Rosenstein, asserted that this was not a serious issue for the city government leaders; rather, these men were simply repeating the complaints of protesting women. Whatever the motivations of the city fathers, the reasoning for the women was quite clear: the double standard was not to be maintained. Ronald A. St. Laurence, "The Myth and the Reality: Prostitution in San Francisco 1880–1913" (M. A. thesis, California State University at Hayward, 1974), 114–17; Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (Long Beach, Calif.: Brown and Nourse, 1949), 274–77; "San Francisco's Municipal Clinic," *White Ribbon Ensign* 7 (1912): 7; Julius Rosenstein, *Our Nation's Health Endangered by Poisonous Infection Through the Social Malady: The Protective Work of the Municipal Clinic of San Francisco and its Fight for Existence* (San Francisco: Town Talk Press, 1913), 36–38; San Francisco *Examiner*, 21 Feb. 1913. See also John Barnham, "Medical Inspection of Prostitutes in America in the Nineteenth Century: The St. Louis Experiment and its Sequel," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45 (1971): 203–18.

4. Edson, "Woman's Influence on State Legislation," 7–8. The *Woman's Bulletin*, the official organ of the California Civic League, described its members as women "with leisure" who will become the "guiding, dominant power of government." *Woman's Bulletin* 2 (July 1913): 4–5.

5. See "Story of Weller Recall," *Woman's Journal* 44 (24 May 1913): 163; *California Outlook* 14 (3 May 1913): 11. The article on the recall used by the *Woman's Journal* was first printed in *La Follette's* magazine. Ella Costillo Bennett wrote the original article.

6. San Francisco *Examiner*, Jan.–Apr. 1913; "A Story of Judge Weller's Court," League of Women Voters Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco, California (hereafter cited as League of Women Voters Collection); "Men! Women! Voters!" League of Women Voters Collection; "Story of Weller Recall," *Woman's Journal.*

7. San Francisco *Examiner*, Jan.–Apr. 1913, see especially 15 Jan. and 8 Mar. 1913; "Story of Weller Recall," *Woman's Journal*, 163; Selina Solomons, *How We Won the Vote in California: A True Story of the Campaign of 1911* (San Francisco: New Woman Publishing Company, 1912), 26, 4, 67; Recall League to the San Francisco Center, 13 Mar. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; San Francisco Center to the Recall League, 25 Mar. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; *Woman's Bulletin* 2 (July 1913): 6–8. While the evidence that these clubs were middle class is impressionistic, it is nonetheless overwhelming. This evidence includes the social standing of the leaders of the clubs; the chronicling of the events of the clubs in the city's social pages, a courtesy not extended to working-class organizations; and, finally, the affluence of the clubs themselves, as seen in their spacious clubhouses. However, more research in this area would pinpoint from which portion of the middle class the club members came.

8. San Francisco *Examiner*, 8, 15, 20, 31 Jan. 1913; 3, 18–20, 26–27 Feb. 1913; 26 Mar. 1913; Fresno *Morning Republican*, 27 Apr. 1913; *California Outlook* 14 (3 May 1913): 11; Mary S. Gibson, *A Record of Twenty-Five Years of the California Federation of Women's Clubs 1900–1925* (California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1927), 118; newspaper clippings, 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb.–Apr. 1913; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Feb.–Apr. 1913; "The Woman's Vote in California," unsigned manuscript, June 1913, League of Women Voters Collection.

9. San Francisco *Examiner*, 21 Jan. 1913; 20–26 Feb. 1913; 13 Mar. 1913; Fresno *Morning Republican*, 27 Apr. 1913; *California Outlook* 14 (3 May 1913): 11; Gibson, *A Record of Twenty-Five Years*, 118; newspaper clippings, 1913, League of Women Voters Collection. Although the evidence is scanty, it appears the recall did receive working-class support. Certainly, the press perceived the recall as a victory of the "home sections" of the middle and working classes over two financial districts of the city, the Downtown and Tenderloin areas. The significance of the women's vote for the recall is unclear. In 1912 only 50 percent of the eligible women were registered to vote. A large women's vote was expected in the recall; therefore, the city register tallied the votes separately by sex. However, only a little over 36 percent of those women eligible to vote did so as opposed to over 50 percent of the men. Unfortunately, the importance of these figures are difficult to surmise since in other elections the votes were not counted separately by sex.

10. San Francisco *Examiner*, 13 Jan. and 21–23 Apr. 1913; "Findings of the Legislative Committee and Board of Directors of the San Francisco Center on the Question of the Recall of Judge Weller," 21 Feb. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection.

11. Newspaper clippings, 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; "Story of Weller Recall," *Woman's Journal*, 163; "A Story of Judge Weller's Court," League of Women Voters Collection; "Men! Women! Voters!" League of Women Voters Collection; San Francisco *Examiner*, 15 Jan. 1913.

12. "A Story of Judge Weller's Court," League of Women Voters Collection; "Men! Women! Voters!" League of Women Voters Collection; newspaper clippings, 1913, League of Women Voters Collection.

13. "The Recall League of San Francisco," *Woman's Bulletin* 1 (April 1913): 13. Helen Todd, active in the CCL, observed at a recall meeting that a man would be sent to San Quentin for stealing a horse or taking a saddle but if he was "to poison the life of a young girl, to ruin her forever," his case would be dismissed. San Francisco *Examiner*, 19 Feb. 1913.

14. San Francisco *Examiner*, 7–13 Jan. 1913; 9 Feb. 1913; and 16 Sept. 1913.

15. Joseph Gerald Woods, "The Progressives and the Police: Urban Reform and the Professionalization of the Los Angeles Police" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 87; Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 232, 280–93.

16. C. D. W. [Charles Dwight Willard], "Tribute to Moloch," *California Outlook* 14 (15 Mar. 1913): 2–3; "Rag-Time Rampant," *California Outlook* 14 (21 June 1913): 4–5; Chester H. Rowell, "The Jungle Dance," *California Outlook* 16 (28 Feb. 1914): 5–6. All the articles in *Outlook* condemned ragtime dances for their sensuousness and their black origins.

17. Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 299–307; St. Laurence, "The Myth and the Reality," 121–25. The social evil campaign itself contributed to the demise of the Barbary Coast.

18. Minutes of the Board of Directors of the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League, 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; San Francisco *Examiner*, 5 Aug. 1913; 14 Sept. 1913; St. Laurence, "The Myth and the Reality," 124–25; Untitled Report to the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League, 1914, League of Women Voters Collection.

19. Jane Addams felt public dance halls were a direct step on the road to prostitution. Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), 150–53; Roy Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," *Historian* 24 (1962): 320–23; San Francisco *Examiner*, 19 Feb. 1913; Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 289–90; C. D. W., "Tribute to Moloch," 2–3; Mary Fairbrother to San Francisco Center of the California Civic League, 4 Oct. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection.

20. San Francisco *Examiner*, 16 Sept. 1913; 8 Jan. 1913.

21. C. H. R. [Chester H. Rowell], "Clean Outside Too," *California Outlook* 15 (27 Sept. 1913): 2–3; Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," 308–10; for a discussion of the middle-class status of vice reformers, see Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 215–16.

22. San Francisco *Examiner*, Sept. 1913; St. Laurence, "Prostitution in San Francisco," 123; Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 299–300; Mansel G. Blackford, *The Politics of Business in California, 1890–1920* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1977), 9–10; Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 181–216; Franklin Hichborn, "The Recall of Senator Grant," *White Ribbon Ensign* 8 (1914): 5. After the 1906 earthquake, the rivals San Francisco particularly feared were Seattle and Los Angeles. It must have been disturbing when the Illinois Vigilance Association demanded that San Francisco be made as "morally decent and safe" as Los Angeles and Seattle before "decent people" attended the 1915 San Francisco Exposition. "Timely Resolutions," *White Ribbon Ensign* 7 (1912): 4.

23. San Francisco *Examiner*, 14 Sept. 1913 and 16 Sept. 1913; Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 205–11.

24. Addams, *A New Conscience*, 55–56, 93, 104, 124–28, 143–44, 206–7; see also Don S. Kirschner, "The Ambiguous Legacy: Social Justice and Social Control in the Progressive Era," *Historical Reflections* 2 (1975): 69–88. For an excellent discussion of reformers grappling with this issue of social control in another country, see Richard J. Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past and Present* 70 (1976): 106–29.

25. Jeanette Converse, *Woman's Bulletin* 1 (1912): 31–32; Harriet T. Gerson, "Dancing in its Best Light," *Woman's Bulletin* 2 (1914): 12; "The San Lorenzo Center," *Woman's Bulletin* 2 (1914): 13; San Francisco *Examiner*, 14 Dec. 1912.

26. San Francisco *Examiner*, 23 Sept. 1913.

27. San Francisco *Examiner*, 24 Sept. 1913; Franklin Hichborn, "The Question of Outlawry," *White Ribbon Ensign* 7 (1913): 1, 6; C. H. R. [Chester H. Rowell], "'Unemployed' Fake," *California Out-*

look 15 (11 Oct. 1913): 4; Judith R. Walkowitz, "'The Revolt of Women': The Feminist Resistance to the State Regulation of Prostitution in Mid-Victorian Britain" (Paper delivered at the Ninety-third Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, 29 Dec. 1978); Wunsch, "Prostitution and Public Policy," 54–60, 91–98; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman," *American Quarterly* 23 (1971): 562–84.

28. Untitled Report to the San Francisco Center, 1914, League of Women Voters Collection; Mary Fairbrother to Mrs. A. E. Graupner, 6 Oct. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection.

29. Mary Fairbrother to Mrs. A. E. Graupner, 6 and 4 Oct. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection; A Form Letter of the San Francisco Center of the California Civic League to the Dance Hall Girls, League of Women Voters Collection. Many of the dancers were said to be "scarcely more than children." See Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 301–2. The *California Outlook* believed most of the young women had previously worked in factories, shops, and offices. C. D. W., "Tribute to Moloch," 2–3.

30. Report, 1914, League of Women Voters Collection. The statistics provided in this report regarding the interviews with the dance hall girls are quite vague. A final figure of 175 women interviewed is given. At one point, with 106 interviews, only 5 were willing to accept aid and of these 5, only 3 actually did accept help from the San Francisco Center. However, when the Dance Hall Committee of the center closed the employment bureau, it reported that it "had great success in several cases." Minutes, 11 Nov. 1913, San Francisco Center of the California Civic League, League of Women Voters Collection. "A Dance Hall Girl" to "The Clubwomen of San Francisco," 24 Sept. 1913, League of Women Voters Collection. The official minimum wage in 1913 was ten dollars a week. Estimates of dance hall girls' salaries range from twelve dollars a week to forty dollars a week. One dancing woman asserted that even on her worst nights she never made less than seven dollars. Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*, 289–90; San Francisco *Examiner*, Sept.–Oct. 1913.

31. Untitled Report to the San Francisco Center, 1914, League of Women Voters Collection. Paul Boyer observed that the interviews of prostitutes conducted by the vice commissions revealed a self-image similar to that of the dance hall women. The prostitutes appear, he said, "reasonably well satisfied with their lot, insist that they are performing a useful social function for a satisfactory return, and reveal little sense of regret or inclination to reform." *Urban Masses*, 202–3.

32. A Form Letter of the San Francisco Center of the Civic League to the Dance Hall Girls, League of Women Voters Collection.

13. The Limitations of Sisterhood: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Division in the American Suffrage Movement, 1875–1902

1. Karen J. Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); Barbara Leslie Epstein, *Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

2. Ellen C. DuBois, ed., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches* (New York: Schocken, 1981), 179–81, 222–27.

3. "Our intention . . . is simply to make every one . . . believe in the great principles of equality of rights and chances for woman. . . . Neither you nor I have the right to complicate the question." Anthony to Stanton, 1884, in *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, ed. Ida H. Harper (Indianapolis: Bowen and Merrill, 1899), 2: 586. The issue that Anthony feared would complicate the suffrage movement was racism.

4. My emphasis on feminists' conflicts over religion contrasts with that of William R. Leach, in *True Love and Perfect Union: Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Leach stresses the common commitment to religious liberalism, which he believes was shared by virtually all nineteenth-century feminists.

5. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (New York: T. Fischer Unwin, 1898), 43–44.

6. Lucretia Mott to Richard Webb, 5 Sept. 1855, in *James and Lucretia Mott, Life and Letters*, ed. Anna D. Hallowell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1884), 357; Stanton to Elizabeth Smith Miller, 20 Sept. 1855, in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences*, ed. Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922), 60–61.

7. Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 150.

8. Owen advocated divorce reform and property rights for married women in Indiana in the 1830s; the two issues were also linked in Massachusetts by Mary Upton Ferin. Rose and Judge Hertell, also a

freethinker, led the drive for women's property rights in New York in the 1840s. Stanton helped to circulate petitions for property rights in 1845. She first advocated liberal divorce laws in 1852, in connection with the New York women's temperance movement.

9. Elizabeth Stanton to Susan B. Anthony, 14 Jan. 1878, Stanton Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Stanton Papers, LC).

10. Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850–1960* (London: Heinemann, 1977).

11. Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 356.

12. "Spent the afternoon with some Positivists whom I was invited to meet at Mr. William Hertz's. Though clear on religious questions, I found many of them narrow in their ideas as to the sphere of woman." Diary, 26 Nov. 1882, *Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters*, 198. For Stanton's first meeting with Besant, see ibid., 25 Nov. 1882, 198. In her first months in England, Stanton also met with Victoria Woodhull and Ernestine Rose, both important figures in the individual rights tradition of feminism at an earlier period.

13. Diary, 18 July 1891, in *Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters*, 274–75.

14. Stanton presented a series of resolutions to the 1885 National Woman Suffrage Association convention indicting "Christian theology" for the oppression of women. The convention altered the resolutions to focus on "religious creeds derived from Judaism." See Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 381–82. Stanton developed her ideas on religion fully in "Has Christianity Benefitted Woman?" *North American Review* 342 (May 1885): 389–99.

15. Elizabeth Stanton to Harriot Stanton, 17 Apr. 1880, Stanton Papers, LC.

16. Stanton, "Has Christianity Benefitted Woman?" 395.

17. Ibid.

18. Stanton, "Patriotism and Chastity," *Westminster Review* 135 (Jan. 1891): 1–5.

19. Elizabeth Stanton to Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, 15 Sept. no yr., Harbert Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

20. Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 396.

21. Stanton to May Wright Sewall, 10 Oct. 1886, Harbert Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

22. Diary, 13 Aug. 1882, in *Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters*, 193.

23. Stanton to Harbert, 15 Sept. no yr., in ibid.

24. Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 452.

25. Stanton to Harriot Hanson Robinson, 30 Sept. 1886, Robinson Papers, Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

26. Lady Henry Somerset to Stanton, 5 June 1895, Stanton Papers, LC.

27. Anthony to Stanton, 24 July 1895, Harbert Collection, Huntington Library.

28. Mary Livermore to Stanton, 1 Sept. 1886, Stanton Papers, LC.

29. Frances Willard to Elizabeth Stanton, n.d., in *The Woman's Bible, Part II* (New York: European Publishing Co., 1898), 200.

30. Ednah Dow Cheney to Stanton, n.d., in ibid., 190.

31. Willard to Stanton, n.d., in ibid., 200–201.

32. Stanton, "The Solitude of Self," in DuBois, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony*, 246–54.

33. David Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973). Also see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), for similar developments in England.

34. Pivar, *Purity Crusade*, 250; "Purity Conference," *Woman's Journal*, 7 Dec. 1895: 388.

35. Parker Pillsbury to Lillie Devereux Blake, 11 Apr. 1890, Blake Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri. See also Epstein, *Politics of Domesticity*.

36. *Women's National Liberal Union: A Report of the Convention for Organization* (Syracuse: Masters and Stone Printers, 1890); also see Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

37. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Address to the Founding Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association," in DuBois, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony*, 222–27.

38. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Sunday at the World's Fair," *North American Review* 154 (1892): 254–56.

39. Stanton, "Address to the Founding Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association," DuBois, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony*, 225; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Divorce Versus Domestic Warfare," *Arena* 1 (1890): 560–69.

40. Stanton, "Divorce Versus Domestic Warfare," 568.

41. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), chap. 7; William R. Leach, "Looking Forward Together: Feminists and Edward Bellamy," *Democracy* (Winter 1982).

42. Channing to Stanton, 7 May 1890, Stanton Papers, LC.

43. Diary, 8 Feb. 1888, in *Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters*, 247.

44. Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressive Achievement in American Civilization, 1889–1920* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), stresses the religious aspects of Progressivism.

45. *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 2:631–32.

46. *Washington Post*, 27 Jan. 1896 and 29 Jan. 1869, clippings in the Anthony Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; also, "The Washington Convention," *Woman's Journal*, 1 Feb. 1896: 1.

47. Stanton to Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, 7 June 1900, Harbert Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

48. Susan Harding, "Family Reform Movements: Recent Feminism and its Opposition," *Feminist Studies* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 57–75; Barbara Ehreinreich, "The Women's Movements: Feminist and Antifeminist," *Radical America* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 93–104.

14. Feminism, Professionalism, and Germs: A Study of the Thought of Mary Putnam Jacobi and Elizabeth Blackwell

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1. Jacobi to her mother, 13 Jan. 1870, in *Life and Letters of Mary Putnam Jacobi*, ed. Ruth Putnam (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 233.

2. Elizabeth Blackwell, "The Influence of Women in the Profession of Medicine," in *Essays in Medical Sociology* (1902; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972), 2:5–6, 12.

3. *Pathfinders in Medicine* (New York: Medical Life Press, 1929), 673–74.

4. Jacobi to Blackwell, 25 Dec. 1888, Blackwell Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Blackwell Papers, LC).

5. See Rene Dubos, *Mirage of Health* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 117–18.

6. See Barbara Rosenkrantz, *Public Health and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 74–96, 177–85; Charles Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); and idem, "Florence Nightingale on Contagion: The Hospital as a Moral Universe," in *Healing and History: Essays for George Rosen*, ed. Charles Rosenberg (New York: Neale Watson, 1979), 116–36.

7. Elizabeth Blackwell, *Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women* (1895; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 27. See also Nancy Sahli, "Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D.: A Biography" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

8. Blackwell, *Pioneer Work*, 28.

9. Ibid., 35.

10. Lloyd Stevenson, "Science Down the Drain, On the Hostility of Certain Sanitarians to Animal Experimentation, Bacteriology and Immunology," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 29 (Jan.–Feb. 1955): 1–26; Charles Rosenberg and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Pietism and the Origins of the American Public Health Movement: A Note on John H. Griscom and Robert M. Hartley," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 23 (Sept. 1968): 16–35.

11. Blackwell, "The Influence of Women," 26–27.

12. Elizabeth Blackwell, "Why Hygienic Congresses Fail," in *Essays on Medical Sociology*, 2:73.

13. Blackwell, "The Influence of Women," 5–6. See also idem, "The Human Element in Sex," in *Essays in Medical Sociology*, 1:69.

14. Blackwell, "The Influence of Women," 10, 13, 21. Also idem, "Why Hygienic Congresses Fail." On antivivisection, see Richard D. French , *Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

15. Elizabeth Blackwell, "Scientific Method in Biology," in *Essays in Medical Sociology*, 2:119, 90.

16. Jacobi to her mother, 17 Aug. 1869, in *Life and Letters*, 216.

17. George P. Putnam to Jacobi, undated, 1863, in ibid., 67.

18. Jacobi to her father, 1 Feb. 1867, in ibid., 110.

19. Jacobi to her mother, 11 Mar. 1871, Jacobi Manuscripts, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

20. Jacobi to her mother, 22 Apr. 1867, 13 Jan. 1870, in *Life and Letters*, 125, 233–34.

21. Jacobi to her mother, 22 Dec. 1867, 13 Nov. 1866, in ibid., 157, 100–101.

22. Dr. Allan Wyeth, quoted in ibid., 325.

23. Jacobi to her mother, 29 May 1867, in ibid., 141.

24. Indeed, Dr. Herbert C. Miller in his 1981 Abraham Jacobi lecture to the American Academy of Pediatrics called Mary Putnam Jacobi the "mother of American pediatrics." See his "Intrauterine Growth Retardation: An Unmet Challenge" (Paper delivered at Washington, D.C., April 1981; reprints available at the Department of Pediatrics, University of Kansas Medical Center).

25. Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Shall Women Practice Medicine?" reprinted in *Mary Putnam Jacobi, Pathfinder in Medicine*, ed. Women's Medical Association of New York City (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 390.

26. Jacobi to Blackwell, 25 Dec. 1888, Blackwell Papers, LC; italics mine.

27. Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Specialism in Medicine," reprinted in *Pathfinder in Medicine*, 358; idem, "Inaugural Address at the Opening of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, 1 Oct. 1880," in ibid., 334; idem, "Annual Address Delivered at the Commencement of the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, 30 May 1883," in ibid., 293; idem, "Shall Woman Practice Medicine?" in ibid., 373.

28. See Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1929* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

29. See Blackwell's notes, "On the Education of Women Physicians," Blackwell Papers, LC; Blackwell, "The Influence of Women," 27–29, 19–20, especially where she denounces the "narrow and superficial materialism which prevails so widely amongst scientific men."

30. Jacobi, "Specialism in Medicine," 358; idem, "Shall Women Practice Medicine?" 373; idem, "Commencement Address, 1883," 392.

31. Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Female Physicians for Insane Women," *Medical Record* 37 (10 May 1890): 543; idem, "Woman in Medicine," in *Woman's Work in America*, ed. Annie Nathan Meyer (New York: Henry Holt, 1891), 177.

32. Jacobi, "Inaugural Address, 1880," 352, 348, 354.

33. Jacobi, "Commencement Address, 1883," 392–93, 397, 400.

34. Jacobi to Blackwell, 25 Dec. 1888, Blackwell Papers, LC; Jacobi, "Commencement Address, 1883," 401; idem, "Shall Women Practice Medicine?" 390.

35. Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Social Aspects of the Readmission of Women into the Medical Profession," in *Papers and Letters presented at the First Woman's Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women, October, 1873* (New York, 1874), 134; Elizabeth Blackwell, Letter to the Editor of the Philanthropist, February, 1889, reprint in Blackwell MSS, RWA.

36. Jacobi to her mother, 13 Jan. 1870, in *Life and Letters*, 233; Blackwell, "The Influence of Women," 5; Jacobi, "Social Aspects," 173.

37. Pamphlet in the Archives of the Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 5–7.

38. Blackwell to Lady Byron, 5 Aug. 1852, Blackwell Papers, LC.

15. Jewish Involvement in the New York City Woman Suffrage Movement

Another version of this paper appeared in *American Jewish History* 70 (1981): 442–50. The article is reprinted by permission.

1. See, for example, Sharon Strom, "Leadership and Tactics in the American Woman Suffrage Movement: A New Perspective from Massachusetts," *Journal of American History* 64 (Sept. 1975): 296–315.

2. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49 (Sept. 1962): 235.

3. All election result figures are computed from "The Canvass of Votes Cast in the City of New York" published in the *City Record* by the New York Board of Elections.

4. Demographic information obtained for election districts from Walter Laidlaw, ed., *Statistical Sources for Demographic Studies of Greater New York, 1920* (New York: 1922), lists of registered voters published in the *City Record*, and census manuscripts of the 1915 New York State Census.

5. Jeffrey Gurock, *When Harlem Was Jewish, 1870–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 75–80.

6. *The American Suffragette*, Nov. 1909: 3, 5, and Aug. 1909; *New York Times*, 17 Feb. 1908, 28 Apr. 1908, and 6 Oct. 1908.

7. Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 90, 94; Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, *First Annual Report 1908–09* (New York, 1909), 5.

8. *New York Times*, 5 Apr. 1907.

9. *Woman Voter*, Nov. 1911: 27; Sept. 1912: 5, 28.

10. "Constitution of the Wage Earners' League," in Leonora O'Reilly Papers, reel 12, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts (cited hereafter as Leonora O'Reilly Papers, Schlesinger Library); *Woman Voter*, Sept. 1912: 5.

11. *Woman Voter*, Sept. 1912: 5; Dec. 1911; May 1912; Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the New York Women's Trade Union League, 9 Sept. 1912, in New York WTUL Papers, New York State Department of Labor Library, New York City.

12. New York State Woman Suffrage Association, *Annual Report, 1913–14*, 12; *Annual Report, 1912–13*, 9; *New York Times*, 12 Feb. 1911.

13. Mary Beard to Leonora O'Reilly, May (1912?), Leonora O'Reilly Papers, reel 6, Schlesinger Library.

14. *New York Times*, 25 Dec. 1909; 13 Jan. 1910; 1 Jan. 1910; 2 Jan. 1910; 23 June 1910; 21 Mar. 1910; 12 May 1910.

15. Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 64, 202.

16. Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1922), 6:250–51, 702, 857.

17. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 258–59; Rose Schneiderman, *All for One* (New York: Eriksson, 1967), 121–24.

18. Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:484, 569, 858; *New York Times*, 21 May 1909; 2 June 1915; 2 Mar. 1914; 1 Nov. 1915; 5 Dec. 1908.

19. Based on names and addresses from membership lists in the Woman Suffrage Collection, Columbia University Library, New York City, and program of the "First Woman Suffrage Convention of the City of New York," 29 Oct. 1909, in the New York Historical Society, New York City. The assembly districts were 6, 26, 8, and 4. The top three were the only Manhattan assembly districts to have a majority for suffrage in 1915.

20. *Woman Voter*, Sept. 1915: 23; May 1913: 33; Oct. 1912; Aug. 1912; Apr. 1915; June 1913; July 1913: 29; Dec. 1911: 23; Oct. 1913: 24.

21. Ibid., Dec. 1914: 22; June 1914: 25; Jan. 1915: 21; Mar. 1915: 22; Feb. 1913: 33; Mar. 1913: 27.

22. "Publicity Section Report," 18 Nov. 1916, in Harriet Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts (cited hereafter as Harriet Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library); Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:472; *Woman Voter*, Apr. 1915: 20; Feb. 1913: 33.

23. *Woman Voter*, May 1914: 23.

24. Gertrude Brown, "On Account of Sex" (unpublished manuscript), in Woman Suffrage-US Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library, Northampton, Massachusetts; Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:472; *New York Times*, 19 Nov. 1912; 10 Apr. 1913; *Woman Voter*, July 1914:24; Aug. 1914: 18.

25. Brown, "On Account of Sex," chap. 9, p. 1; *New York Times*, 16 Aug. 1915; 2 Oct. 1915.

26. *New York Times*, 20 Dec. 1909; New York *Call*, 2 Jan. 1910; 20 Dec. 1909; 21 Nov. 1909; 12 Mar. 1908; 26 Mar. 1909; Mari Jo Buhle, "Feminism and Socialism in the United States, 1820–1920" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974); *Progressive Woman*, Nov. 1907: 3.

27. *Call*, 21 Nov. 1909; 2 Nov. 1909; 12 Dec. 1909; 28 Nov. 1909; 25 Feb. 1908; *New York Times*, 7 Dec. 1914; 1 Mar. 1909; 28 Feb. 1910; 1 Mar. 1915; 18 Oct. 1915; 21 Oct. 1917.

28. *New York Times*, 11 Oct. 1917.

29. *Ladies' Garment Worker*, Dec. 1916: 19; Nov. 1917:7; "Workingmen of New York," leaflet in Jane Smith Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass.; Letter from Vera Whitehouse to Alice Chittenden, 10 Sept. 1917, in Harriet Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library.

30. *Woman Voter*, May 1912: 4–5.

31. *Ladies' Garment Worker*, June 1916: 23; Mar. 1916: 13; Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers* (New York: 1924), 160; *New York Times*, 2 Dec. 1909; 2 June 1909.

32. *New York Times*, 30 July 1915; 2 Sept. 1915; 18 July 1912; *Woman Voter*, May 1912: 28; Mar. 1912: 22.

33. *New York Times*, 19 July 1915; 18 July 1915; 29 Oct. 1915; *Woman Voter*, Sept. 1915: 23; Aug. 1915: 22.

34. *Woman Voter*, Mar. 1911: 3; May 1915: 14.

35. Ibid., Sept. 1915: 9; Aug. 1915: 22.

36. *The American Hebrew*, 12 Nov. 1915: 12; 21 Oct. 1915: 718.

37. *New York Times*, 2 Mar. 1914.

38. *New York Times*, 19 July 1915; 18 Nov. 1910; *Ladies' Garment Worker*, Dec. 1912: 14; *Socialist Woman*, Feb. 1908: 3; John Laslett, *Labor and the Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 122; the Socialist party registration computed from the New York City Board of Elections, *Annual Report*, 1918.

39. *The American Hebrew*, 11 Sept. 1911: 510; Alice Kessler-Harris, "Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union," *Labor History* 17 (Winter 1976): 5–23; Nancy Schrom Dye, "The Women's Trade Union League of New York 1903–1920" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), 281–82.

40. *The American Hebrew*, 6 July 1917: 240; *New York Times*, 24 Apr. 1917; meeting announcements in Harriet Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library.

41. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics* (1926; reprint, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 297; *Woman Citizen*, 10 Nov. 1917.

42. *Woman Voter*, Feb. 1916: 20.

43. *New York Times*, 4 Nov. 1915; 6 Nov. 1915; *Woman Voter*, Feb. 1910: 2; Jan. 1911: 2.

44. *New York Times*, 21 Nov. 1917; 23 Nov. 1917; 19 Nov. 1917; *Woman Citizen*, 1 Dec. 1917: 7; 22 Dec. 1917: 85.

16. "If Eight Hours Seem Few to You . . .": Women Workers' Strikes in Italian Rice Fields, 1901-1906

1. The following works deal with the history of rice growing in Italy: Emilio Motta, "Per la storia della coltura del riso in Lombardia," *Archivio storico lombardo*, 4th ser., 4 (1905), 392–400; Novello Novelli and Giovanni Sampietro, "La risicoltura in Italia," in *La risicoltura e la malaria nelle zone risicole d'Italia*, ed. Ministero dell'Interno e Ministero dell'Economia Nazionale (Rome: Provveditore generale del Stato, Libreria, 1925) 3–130; Luigi Messedaglia, "Per la storia delle nostre piante alimentari: Il riso," *Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali*, 20 (Jan./Feb.–Mar./Apr. 1938): 1–15 and 49–64; and Paolo Bodo, *Le consuetudini, la legislazione, le istituzioni del vecchio Piemonte* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1950).

2. On the formation of the rural proletariat of the rice fields, see Luigi Faccini, "I lavoratori della risaia fra '700 e '800: Condizioni di vita, alimentazione, malattie," *Studi storici* 15, no. 3 (July –Sept. 1974): 545–88; idem, *L'economia risicola lombarda dagli inizi del XVIII secolo all'Unità*, Studi e ricerche, no. 6 (Milan: SugarCo Edizioni, 1976), 12, 18; idem, *Uomini e lavoro in risaia: Il dibattito sulla risicoltura nel '700 e nell '800* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1976), 16, 20, 27–28, 72–73, 152; Aldo de Maddalena, *Prezzi e aspetti di mercato in Milano durante il secolo XVII*, Istituto di storia economica, Serie studi, no. 1 (Milan: Malfasi, 1950), 51–52; Alessandro Visconti, *La pubblica amministrazione nello stato Milanese durante il predominio straniero (1541–1796)* (Rome: Athenaeum, 1913), 265–66; Raimondo Luraghi, "Sulle origini del movimento contadino nella pianura padana irrigua: Il Vercellese," *Nuova rivista storica* 40 (Sept.–Dec. 1956): 492; Salvatore Pugliese, *Due secoli di vita agricola: Produzione e valore dei terreni, contratti agrari, salari e prezzi nel Vercellese nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1908), 43–52; Luigi Bulferetti and Raimondo Luraghi, *Agricoltura, industria e commercio in Piemonte dal 1790 al 1814*, Pubblicazioni del Comitato torinese dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento, n.s., 3 (Turin: Palazzo Carignano, 1966), 73–74; and Giuseppe Prato, *L'evoluzione agricola nel secolo XVIII e le cause economiche dei moti del 1792–98 in Piemonte*, Reale accademia delle scienze di Torino, 1908–1909 (Turin: Vincenzo Bona, 1909), 58.

3. For descriptions of the weeding, see Colombi, La Marchesa [Maria Antonietta Torriani Torelli-Viollier], *In risaia: Racconto di Natale*, 4th ed. (Milan: Galli, 1890); and Angiolo Cabrini's interpellation at the Chamber of Deputies, "Per sapere quali mezzi egli intenda adottare per la difesa dei lavoratori nelle risaie," 2 Mar. 1903, in Italy, *Atti del Parlamento Italiano: Discussioni* (Camera dei Deputati),

21st Legislative Period, 2d sess., 1902–1904 (Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1902), 7:6029–46.

4. Angelo Celli, "Legislazione contro la malaria," *Critica sociale* 13, no. 4 (16 Feb. 1903): 56–60.

5. Spencer Di Scala, *Dilemmas of Italian Socialism: the Politics of Filippo Turati* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 51.

6. Alessandro Schiavi, "Due anni di agitazioni proletarie," *Riforma sociale* 9, no. 12 (15 Feb. 1902): 153–80; Ivanoe Bonomi, *Questioni urgenti* (Genoa, 1902); and Napoleone Colajanni, "Il movimento agrario in Italia," *Rivista d'Italia* 5, no. 11 (Nov. 1902): 729.

7. The Socialist newspapers of the rice belt were *La Risaia* of Vercelli, *Il Lavoratore* of Novara, *La Plebe* of Pavia, and *Il Contadino* of Mortara. *La Monda* of Vercelli had a one-year existence in 1903–4.

8. Gi, "l'organizzazione dei contadini," *La Plebe*, 10–11 Nov. 1900, p. 2; and "La Camera del lavoro a Vercelli," *La Risaia*, 2 Feb. 1901, p. 1.

9. "L'organizzazione dei contadini," *La Plebe*, 24–25 Nov. 1900, p. 2.

10. "Nella risaia, Asigliano," *La Risaia*, 2 Feb. 1901, p. 3.

11. "Ai contadini," *La Risaia*, 20 Apr. 1901, p. 4.

12. Ibid. Giolitti declared in the chamber in May 1901 that the leagues and their goals were legal; though the entrepreneurs had the right to transport workers from another place as strikebreakers, he nevertheless advised the farmers to grant the increases the leagues demanded, because these were small and just. In any case, the government would respect the right to work. "Le dichiarazioni del ministro dell'interno circal le Leghe," *La Risaia*, 4 May 1901, p. 1.

13. "Pei contadini," *La Risaia*, 1 Dec. 1900, p. 10. The same list of requests is repeated in the numbers of 15 Dec. 1900 and 2 Feb. 1901.

14. Gabriella Facchinetti, "La lotta di classe nelle zone risicole del novarese e del vercellese," in *Braccianti e contadini nella Valle Padana, 1880–1905* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1975), 344. One of the first acts of the association was to evict all permanent workers suspected of having joined the leagues; see Michela Figurelli, "Il movimento contadino nel pavese dal 1894 al 1904," in *Braccianti e contadini nella Valle Padana*, 266.

15. "I fatti di Albano," *La Risaia*, 25 May 1901, p. 2.

16. Italy, Ministero di agricoltura, industria e commercio (MAIC), Direzione generale della statistica, *Statistica degli scioperi avvenuti nell' industria e nell' agricoltura durante l'anno 1901* (Rome: Bertero, 1904), 83, 318.

17. "I sindaci: Osservazioni pei contadini," *La Plebe*, 25–26 May 1901, p. 1; and "Da Ferrera Erbognone," *La Plebe*, 1–2 June 1901, p. 3.

18. "Nella risaia: Crova," *La Risaia*, 6 July 1901, p. 3.

19. "Da San Giorgio Lomellina," *La Plebe*, 1–2 June 1901, p. 3.

20. "Da Sannazzaro," *La Plebe*, 8–9 June 1901, p. 3.

21. "Importantissimo: Alle squadre forestiere," *La Plebe*, 1 June 1901, p. 4.

22. "Resoconto stenografico del primo congresso nazionale dei lavoratori della terra," in *Lotte agrarie in Italia*, ed. Renato Zangheri (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1960), 22.

23. Una donna a nome di 132 mondine, "Il voto di 132 mondine," *La Risaia*, 21 June 1902, p. 2.

24. "I progetti di regolamenti di lavoro per la risaia," *La Monda*, 19 Dec. 1903, pp. 1–2.

25. "La risaia davanti alla legge," *La Monda*, 19 Mar. 1904, p. 1.

26. On the strikes of 1904, see Alessandro Schiavi, *Per le otto ore in risaia: Inchiesta sugli scioperi della primavera del 1904* (Milan: Editore l'Ufficio del Lavoro dell'Umanitaria, 1904). See the following articles in *La Monda* about the strikes in the Vercellese: "Cronaca dello sciopero," 21 May 1904, pp. 1–2; "Cronaca dello sciopero," 28 May 1904, p. 1; "Lo sciopero prosegue a Santhià," and "Per le vittime dello sciopero," 4 June 1904, p. 1; "Echi dello sciopero," 11 June 1904, p. 2; and "Echi dello sciopero," 18 June 1904, p. 2. For events in the Novarese, see in *Il Lavoratore*: "Dalla provincia: Borgolavezzaro," 28 May 1904, p. 3; "Rassegna cittadina: Camera del lavoro," 4 June 1904, p. 3; and "Borgolavezzaro," 4 June 1904, p. 3. Reports of *La Plebe* on the strikes in the Lomellina are: "Pei mondarisi," 11–12 June 1904, p. 1; "Sannazzaro," 18–19 June 1904, p. 3; and "Sannazzaro," 25–26 June 1904, p. 3.

27. "Atti ufficiali della FRAP," *La Monda*, 30 July 1904, p. 1.

28. Schiavi, *Per le otto ore in risaia*, 15.

29. "Atti ufficiali della FRAP," *La Risaia*, 26 May 1906, p. 1; and "Le otto ore di monda," *La Risaia*, 26 May 1906, p. 1.

30. The numerous labor conflicts in the rice belt at the end of May and beginning of June were reported in "La grave agitazione per le 8 ore di monda," *La Risaia*, 3 June 1906, pp. 1–3.

31. Adolfo Fiorani, *Se otto ore vi sembran poche* (Commune di Vercelli: Assesorato alla Coltura, 1976), 7, 13–16.

32. "La serrata dei metallurgici vercellesi," *La Risaia*, 3 June 1906, p. 3; and "Gli operai panattieri," *La Risaia*, 3 June 1906, p. 3.

33. "Le mondarisi di Vercelli," *La Risaia*, 3 June 1906, p. 1.

34. "Ultime notizie sull'agitazione proletaria a Vercelli: Lo sciopero generale," *La Risaia*, 3 June 1906, p. 4; and Fiorani, *Se otto ore vi sembran poche*, 16–20.

35. "L'agitazione proletaria nel Vercellese," *La Risaia*, 9 June 1906, pp. 1–3.

17. Responses to the Political Activism of Women of the People in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1793

This chapter appears in another form in *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Samia Spencer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

1. *Journal général de la Cour et de la Ville, connu sous le nom du "Petit-Gautier,"* no. 4 (22 Sept. 1789): 31.

2. Harry C. Payne, *The Philosophes and the People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976).

3. Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Article III, as cited in Jack Censer, *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press, 1789–1791* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 3.

4. Ibid.

5. Censer, *Prelude to Power*, 60, paraphrasing Pierre-Jean Audouin, *Journal universel*, no. 373 (30 Nov. 1790): 2980.

6. Censer, *Prelude to Power*, 61, citing Lucie-Camille-Simplice Desmoulins, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, no. 51 (15 Nov. 1790): 535.

7. Jean-Joseph Mounier, *Exposé de la conduite de M. Mounier dans l'Assemblée nationale, et des motifs de son retour en Dauphiné* (Paris: Chez Buisson, 1789), 100, n. 2; our translation.

8. Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women of the Popular Classes in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795," in *Women, War, and Revolution*, ed. Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), 13–14; see also Louis-Marie Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris, dediées à la nation et au district des Petits-Augustins* (Paris, 1789).

9. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 4 (7 Aug. 1789): 39; our translations.

10. Jennifer Dunn Westfall, "The Participation of Non-elite Women in the Parisian Crowd Movements of the Opening Year of the French Revolution" (unpublished honors thesis, Mt. Holyoke College, 1976), 81–82, citing *Procession solemnelle de femmes fripières de la Halle, et les Marchandes du Cimetière des Innocents* (Paris, 1789).

11. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 5 (10 Aug. 1789): 10.

12. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 5 (10 Aug. 1789): 17.

13. Westfall, "The Participation of Non-elite Women," 77, citing Arch. nat. 0'500, fol. 440.

14. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 7 (25 Aug. 1789): 16–18.

15. Siméon-Prosper Hardy, "Mes Loisirs, ou Journal d'événements tels qu'ils parviennent à ma connoissance," vol. 8, 14 Sept. 1789, fol. 475, in Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS, fonds français, no. 6687; our translation.

16. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 10 (14 Sept. 1789): 12.

17. Hardy, "Mes Loisirs," vol. 8, 5 Oct. 1789, fol. 501.

18. Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women of the Popular Classes," 14–16; Darline Gay Levy, Harriet B. Applewhite, and Mary D. Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), chap. 1.

19. *Journal de Paris*, no. 281 (8 Oct. 1789): 1289 ff.; our translation.

20. Mounier, *Exposé*, 75; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Reasons of Misrule," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, ed. Natalie Zemon Davis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975). *Le Petit-*

Gautier cites an alleged conversation among habitués of the Palais Royale debating various meanings and personifications of Veto, implying that the common man did not fully comprehend the term but nonetheless grasped its political significance. *Journal général*, no. 16 (4 Oct. 1789): 126–27.

21. Hardy, "Mes Loisirs," vol. 8, 5 Oct. 1789, fol. 501.

22. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 13 (3–10 Oct. 1789): 5.

23. Mounier, *Exposé*, 68–70. For another account, see testimony of one of the twelve women who accompanied Mounier, Françoise Rolin, in *Procédure-criminelle, instruite au Châtelet de Paris, sur la Dénonciation des faits arriveés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789* (Paris: Imprimée par ordre de l'Assemblée nationale, 1790), no. 187 (Rolin).

24. Charge given to the Comité des recherches of the Paris municipality, in *Procédure-criminelle, instruite au Châtelet*, 6.

25. Pierre Dominique [Pierre Lucchini], *Paris enleve le roi: octobre 1789* (Paris, 1973), unnumbered plate.

26. *Les Héroïnes de Paris, ou L'Entière liberté de la France, par des Femmes . . . Police qu'elles doivent exercer de leur propre autorité. Expulsion des Charletans &c. &c., le 5 oct. 1789* (n.p., n.d.).

27. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 13 (3–10 Oct. 1789): 15.

28. Testimony of Faydel in *Procédure-criminelle, instruite au Châtelet*, no. 148.

29. Ibid.

30. *Révolutions de Versailles et de Paris, dédiées aux dames françoises, du samedi 3 octobre au 7 du même mois* (Paris, 1789).

31. Hardy, "Mes Loisirs," 8, 9 Oct. 1789, fol. 508; Harriet B. Applewhite, "Political Legitimacy in Revolutionary France, 1788–1791," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (Autumn 1978): 245–73.

32. Westfall, "The Participation of Non-elite Women," 98–100.

33. *Archives parlementaires*, ed. M. J. Mavidal and M. E. Laurent (Paris, 1877), 1st ser., 9 (21 Oct. 1789): 475.

34. Westfall, "The Participation of Non-elite Women," 101–2, citing Arch. nat., C 32, no. 271.

35. *Archives parlementaires*, ed. Mavidal and Laurent (Paris, 1886), 25 (9 May 1791): 679.

36. Ibid., 10 May 1791: 692–93.

37. For background, see Levy and Applewhite, "Women of the Popular Classes"; Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, chap. 2; Albert Mathiez, *Le Club des Cordeliers pendant la crise de Varennes et la massacre du Champ de Mars* (Paris, 1910; reprint, Genève: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1975).

38. For documentation and interpretive studies, see Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, chap. 4; Marie Cerati, *Le Club des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires* (Paris, 1966); Margaret George, "The 'World Historical Defeat' of the Républicaines-Révolutionnaires," *Science and Society* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1976–77): 410–37.

39. See Levy and Applewhite, "Women of the Popular Classes."

40. Pierre-Joseph Alexis Roussel, *Le Château des Tuileries* (Paris: Legouge, 1802), 2:34–46, as reprinted in our translation in Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 166–71.

41. F.-A. Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins: Recueil de documents pour l'histoire du Club des Jacobins de Paris* (Paris: 1889–97), 5:406–9, reprinted in our translation in Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 182–85.

42. Claire Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la Citoyenne Lacombe à la Société des républicaines révolutionnaires [sic]* (n.p., n.d.), reprinted in our translation in Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 186–96.

43. *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, 18:298–300, session of 9 Brumaire Year II, reprinted in our translation in Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 213–17.

44. Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 213, 7 Brumaire, Year II: 151; our translation.

45. *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, 18:450–51, session of 27 Brumaire Year II, reprinted in our translation in Levy, Applewhite, and Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 219–20.

18. The Effects of the Chinese Revolution on Women and Their Families

1. James P. Harrison, *The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921–72* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 271–72.

2. These techniques were first worked out in the Communist rural soviets centered on Jiangxi, 1927–33, and later modified in the old liberated areas centered on Yanan, 1936–46.

3. Other land reforms occurred in the rural soviets centered on Jaingxi, 1927–35, and in the old liberated areas, 1942–43.

4. Er Dong, "Fu-niu el-tong ding-le da-shy" (Women and children have taken over important work), Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui (The Preparation Committee of the National Democratic Women's Association), *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu nong-tzuen fu-niu sheng-chang iun-dong* (The Rural women's production movement in China's Liberated Areas), (Shanghai, 1949), 15–24.

5. Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), 311.

6. Jack Belden traveled in North China during land reform in 1946. While traveling he came to the conclusion "that the Communists' drive for power was touched at almost every point by women, by their feelings, by their relationship to men." He decided therefore to "talk with a Chinese farm woman about her life, her innermost thoughts, her secret feelings." He talked with Gold Flower. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 275–76.

7. "Gold Flower's Story" is a chapter in Belden, *China Shakes the World.*

8. Deng Ing-chau was born in 1903 and began her revolutionary career during the May Fourth Movement (1919). Most of her career was devoted to women's affairs and she served as vice-chair of the Women's Federation from 1949 to 1983. In addition she aided in the drafting of the Marriage Law of 1950.

9. Deng Ing-chau, "Tu-di gai-ge iu fu-niu gong-tzuo di shen ren-u" (Land Reform and the new task of women's work), Dec. 1947, *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu fu-niu yun-dong uen-xian* (Documents of the women's movement in the Liberated Areas of China), (Shanghai, 1949), 34.

10. Xin min-ju chu-ban-she (The New Democracy Publishing Company), *Fu-niu iun-dong wen-xian* (Documents of the women's movement), (Hong Kong, 1949), 3.

11. Jong-guo gong-chan-dang jong-iang wei-iuan-hui (The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Guan-yu mu-chien jie-fang-qu kung-dzo di jue-ding (Resolution concerning the task of women in the presently Liberated Areas), 20 Dec. 1948, Ren-min-ju ban-she (The People's Publishing Society), *Jong-guo fu-niu iun-dong di wen-jian* (Documents of the women's movement), (n.p., 20 Dec. 1948), 1.

12. Set forth in Friedrich Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884; reprint, New York: International Publishers, 1971), a document frequently used and touted by Chinese Communists.

13. Jong-guo gong-chan-dang jong-iang wei-iuan-hui, 6.

14. Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lien-he-hui (China's National Women's Democratic Association), *Guan-yu cheng-ziang fu-niu dia-biao hui-i* (Concerning the city and country Women's Representative Association), (n.p., 1950), 34–35.

15. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 52.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 50–51.

18. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong* (The Women's fanshen movement in China's Liberated Areas), (Shenyang, 1947), 9.

19. Teng Ying-ch'ao, "Report on the Present Course and Tasks of the Chinese Women's Movement," *Chinese Studies in History* 5, no. 1 (Fall 1971): 79.

20. In contrast to the 1927–35 period of the rural soviets centered on Jiangxi, when reform recipients only included peasant women.

21. Only one "wife" was the legal wife, and a concubine might have a separate house and courtyard if a man were wealthy enough.

22. *Shi-dai fu-niu* (Modern woman), vol. 1, no. 2, 1946.

23. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 9.

24. Jong-guo gong-chan-dang jong-iang wei-iuan-hui, 10.

25. Xin min-ju chu-gan-she, 60.

26. Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lien-he-hui, *Jong-guo fu-niu iun-dong di jong-iau uen-jian* (Important documents of the Chinese women's movement), (n.p., n.d.), 10.

27. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 49.

28. Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lien-he-hui, 10.

29. Xiang-gong fu-niu tsong-kan-she (Hong Kong Women's Series Society), *Fu-iun shen fang-xiang* (The New direction of the women's movement), (Hong Kong, 1948), 2.

30. *Jong-guo jie-gang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 4.

31. Jong-guo fu-niu di i-tsy chiuan-guo dai-biao da-hui (The First National Congress of Chinese

Women), "Jong-guo fu-niu iun-dong dang-chian ren-u di jiu-i" (Resolution concerning the present task of the Chinese women's movement), 1. Apr. 1949, Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui, *Jong-guo fu-niu iun-dong di jong-iau uen-jian*, (n.p.).

32. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 14.

33. Hsu Kuang was born in Nankuang in southern Hopei and elected head of the propaganda department of that province's Women's Association for National Salvation in 1938. Her account of her experiences was first published in English in *Some Basic Facts about China* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1974), 37–40.

34. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 288–89.

35. Ibid., 291.

36. Deng Ing-chau, 1947, 30.

37. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 51.

38. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 52–53.

39. Hsu Kuang, *Some Basic Facts about China*, 34–44.

40. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 41–43.

41. According to John Wong, land reform in Hunan was not fully established until 14 Sept. 1946. Hunan is a large province and land reform occurred in different parts of it at different times. This early experiment much preceded complete land reform for all that area. John Wong, *Land Reform in the People's Republic of China: Institutional Transformation in Agriculture* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 136.

42. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 42.

43. Ibid., 33.

44. Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui, *Jong-guo fu-niu iun-dong di jong-iau uen-jian*, 35–37.

45. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 240.

46. Ibid., 291.

47. Ibid., 243.

48. Ibid., 293.

49. Jong-hua chuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui, *Guan-yu cheng-xiang fu-niu dai-biao hui-i*, 90–94.

50. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 12.

51. Ibid., 25–27.

52. For example: John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); and John T. Meskill, ed., *An Introduction to Chinese Civilization* (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973).

53. Tzeng Iue, *Gong-fei di fu-niu iun-tong* (The Women's movement of the Communist bandits), (Taibei (?), 1961), 82.

54. M. J. Meijer, *Marriage, Law, and Policy in the Chinese People's Republic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1971), 37.

55. Ibid., 103.

56. Anna Louise Strong, *The Chinese Conquer China* (New York: Doubleday, 1949), 174.

57. Delia Davin, "Women in the Liberated Areas," in *Women in China: Studies in Social Change and Feminism*, ed. Marilyn B. Young, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, no. 15 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1973), 83.

58. A pejorative term used by the Nationalists but not by the Communists.

59. Tzeng Iue, 2.

60. Ibid., 34.

61. Ibid., 36.

62. Deng Ing-chau, 1947, 27.

63. Ibid., 27–28.

64. Er Dong, 23.

65. Deng Ing-chau, 1947, 29.

66. Hsu Kuang, *Some Basic Facts about China*, 44.

67. Deng Ing-chau, 1947, 30.

68. Jong-guo gong-chan-dang jong-iang wei-iuan-hui, 7.

69. William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966), 396.

70. Ibid., 397.
71. Hsu Kuang, *Some Basic Facts about China*, 44.
72. Jong-guo gong-chan-dong jong-iang wei-iuan-hui, 7.
73. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 44.
74. Jong-guo gong-chan-dong jong-iang wei-iuan-hui, 5.
75. Ibid., 4–5.
76. Just how many areas enforced the traditional ban against widow remarriage is hard to determine. Some accounts indicate the taboo was enforced, others that it was frequently ignored. Perhaps further research will clarify the extent of this traditional custom.
77. Hinton, *Fanshen*, 307.
78. Ibid., 522.
79. N. Diamond, "Collectivization, Kinship, and the Status of Women in Rural China," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 7 (Jan.–March 1975). Since the 1952 collectivization of land, it is still unusual for women to remain in their natal village after marriage.
80. Xin min-ju chu-ban-she, 57.
81. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 19–20.
82. Ibid., 20.
83. Deng Ing-chau, 1947, 32.
84. Chiuan-guo min-ju fu-niu lian-he-hui chou-bei wei-iuan-hui, 32.
85. Ibid., 33.
86. Japanese collaborator.
87. Hinton, *Fanshen*, 326–27.
88. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 333.
89. Jin-Ji-Cha (Shanshi, Hebei, Chahar) was a liberated area in North China (1936–46).
90. *Shi-dai fu-niu*, 16.
91. Hinton, *Fanshen*, 326–27.
92. Ibid., 156–58.
93. Ibid., 603–4.
94. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 12.
95. Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 315.
96. *Jong-guo jie-fang-qu di fu-niu fan-shen iun-dong*, 9.
97. Ibid., 17.
98. Meijer, *Marriage, Law, and Policy*, 105.

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